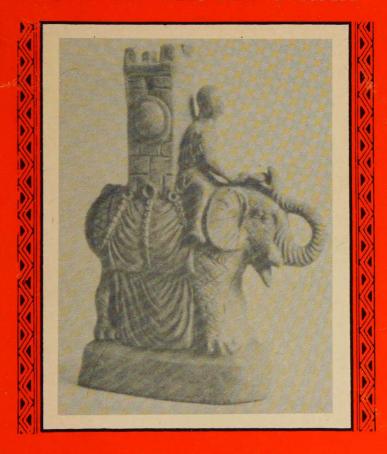
SCIPIO AFRICANUS

THE CONQUEROR OF HANNIBAL

SELECTIONS FROM
LIVY: BOOKS XXVI–XXX



INTRODUCTION • TEXT • NOTES • VOCABULARY

BY

T.A. BUCKNEY

SCIPIO AFRICANUS

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SELECTIONS FROM LIVY: BOOKS XXVI-XXX

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PREFACE

It is strange that most of our pupils read only the history of the first part of the Second Punic War; they know a great deal about Hannibal and Rome's defeats, but very little about Scipio Africanus and Rome's final victory.

The object of this book is to make available to pupils preparing for Ordinary level most of what Livy tells us about Scipio. The text has not been adapted, but difficulties of grammar and expression, which give so much trouble to those who are reading Livy for the first time, are explained fully in the notes, and considerable stress is laid on filling in the political and military background to the story.

I should like to acknowledge my debt to Professor H. H. Scullard's Scipio Africanus in the Second Punic War, and to his edition of Livy Book XXX, to Captain B. H. Liddell Hart's A Greater than Napoleon, to the Clarendon Press for permission to use the text of the Oxford Classical Texts, and to my former tutor Mr. A. G. Woodhead for his help with the illustrations.

In Chapter I (b), line 11, I have adopted the emendation visas for visa, the reading of the Oxford Text. The spelling in the text is that of the Oxford Text, but in the notes and vocabulary I have followed the more usual practice and distinguished between the yowel 'u' and the consonant 'v'.

T.A.B.

September 1964

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Facsimile of the section of the Fasti Consul-EST. Then follows the name of Scipio's colleague in the ARES, the list of consuls and dictators set up in the forum, which records Scipio's consulship of 205 B.C. The fourth Scipio (left) and Hannibal. Probable portraits of line reads: P. CORNELIUS P(ubli) F(ilius) L(uci) N(epos) SCIPIO QUI POSTEA AFRICAN(us) APPELL(atus) consulship, P. Licinius Crassus.

the two great generals on silver coins minted at New Carthage.





II A LIFE-SIZED MODEL OF A ROMAN LEGIONARY in Chester Museum. Over his woollen tunic and breeches he wears breast and back plates strengthened by metal hoops around the waist and shoulders (lorica segmentata), a belt with metal plates and sporran, sword (on his R.), dagger (L.), boots (caligae), and helmet with cheek-pieces and neck-guard. He carries his shield and one of his two pila. (See Introduction, II and Plate III.)



III A RELIEF FROM TRAJAN'S COLUMN (116 A.D.), which commemorates his victories over the Dacians, showing legionaries building defences, just as Scipio did at New Carthage (II) and Castra Cornelia (VIII). The defensive armour is heavier than in Republican times; Scipio's men wore a coat of mail instead of the lorica segmentata shown here (see Plate II).



IV A RELIEF FROM TRAJAN'S COLUMN, showing the way in which the Romans used their shields when storming a wall—the testudo. (See II.) Notice the insignia of their legion on the soldiers' shields.



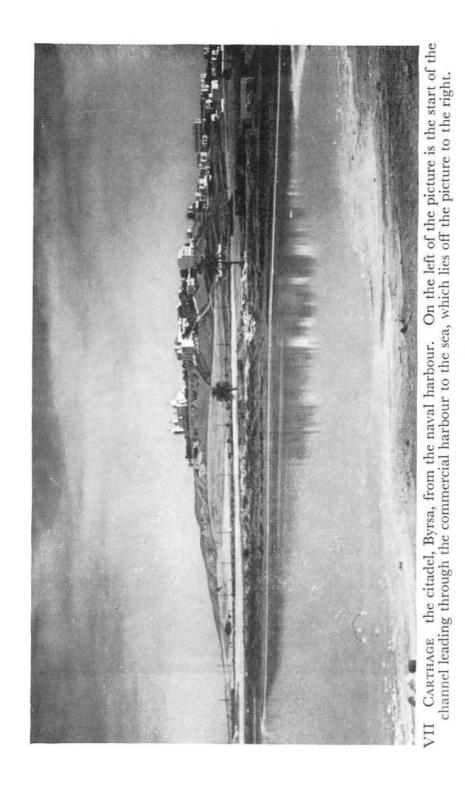
V Tombstone of a Centurion. He carries the vine cudgel, the mark of his rank, and wears embossed metal plates (phalerae) on his chest and rings (torques) on his shoulders, which are distinguished service medals, and on his head a crown of oak leaves, the highest award for individual valour.

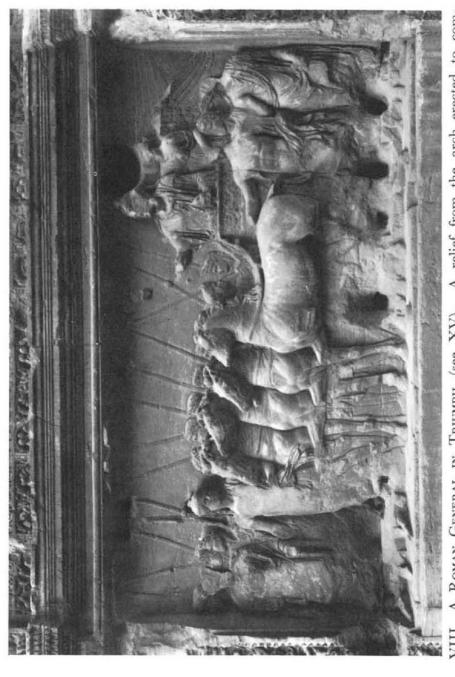


VI (a) A WAR ELEPHANT with a tower, such as Scipio faced at Zama.

VI (b) A ROMAN BIREME with troops on board. Notice the ship's beak or ram at the waterline, the two banks of oars, and the wooden turret for the troops' protection.







A ROMAN GENERAL IN TRIUMPH (see XV). A relief from the arch erected to commemorate the Emperor Titus' capture of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.

INTRODUCTION

I. ROME AND CARTHAGE

THE wars between Rome and Carthage were fought to decide who should rule the western Mediterranean, and no one contributed more to Rome's final victory than the hero of this book, Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, What were the resources of these two great powers?

Carthage was founded near the site of modern Tunis as a trading station by Tyre in about 814 B.C., and gradually gained control of the western Mediterranean, the coast of North Africa, western Sicily. Corsica, Sardinia, and southern Spain. Her interests were entirely centered upon trade, and she was not concerned either to win an empire or to administer well those territories which she had acquired. In adversity her subjects showed no loyalty towards her, in marked contrast to the fidelity of Rome's Italian allies. The citizens served in the fleet, but the army was composed chiefly of mercenaries; it is no small part of Hannibal's achievement that he was able to keep the loyalty of such an army for fifteen years in enemy territory.

Rome by the outbreak of the second Punic War (218 B.C.), with which this story deals, was the recognised leader of central and southern Italy. Each state of Italy was bound to Rome by its own treaty of alliance, but in general Rome controlled their foreign policies while leaving them in full charge of their internal affairs. The justice and moderation of Roman rule was proved by the loyalty of all but her most recent allies in the face of Hannibal's invasion. In northern Italy Rome's hold was less secure. In 225 B.C. she had defeated a Gallic invasion, and advanced her frontier to the Alps, so as to include the valley of the river Po, which was inhabited by

Gauls and was known as Gallia Cisalpina. This was the one area of Italy from which Hannibal was able

to obtain any real support.

Rome and Carthage first came into conflict over the islands of Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia, and when Rome seized Corsica and Sardinia after the end of the first Punic War on a flimsy pretext, Hamilcar, Hannibal's father and a leading figure at Carthage, may well have felt that no peaceful settlement with Rome was possible, but that the spread of Roman power would have to be checked by force. Helped first by his son-in-law Hasdrubal, and later by Hannibal, he established a firm Carthaginian base in southern Spain; here he obtained the riches of the silver and copper mines and abundant supplies of first-class infantrymen, whose fighting qualities were as formidable as their famous swords, which Scipio was quick to adopt (III). In 218 B.C. Hannibal's preparations were complete, and he invaded Italy. However, although he destroyed the army of one consul, Flaminius, at Lake Trasimene, almost annihilated the armies of two consuls, Aemilius Paullus and Varro, at Cannae, and gained the support of many cities of southern Italy, he could not deprive Rome of her reserves of man-power by winning over any of her Central Italian allies. While the war in Italy became an affair of marching and counter-marching, as the Romans refused Hannibal's invitations to battle and attacked his isolated garrisons, Rome used her superiority in manpower to mount an offensive in Spain, in order to strike at Hannibal's base and to prevent reinforcements reaching him. Scipio's father and uncle achieved some success there until they were defeated and killed; the story of Scipio's career begins with his election to fill their place. When he sailed to take up his command the fortunes of war were evenly

balanced. Hannibal was not strong enough to undertake a direct attack upon the city of Rome; on the other hand the Romans still dared not face him in the open field, and therefore could not drive him from Italy. Almost from the moment that Scipio set foot on the shores of Spain the scales tipped dramatically in favour of Rome.

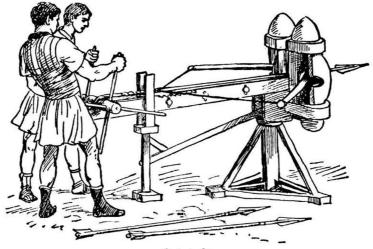
II. THE ROMAN ARMY

At Rome everybody who enjoyed the privileges of being a citizen was expected to take his part in defending his city. Originally the citizens provided their own equipment and were grouped according to their wealth; the richest made up the cavalry and the poorest the light-armed troops. By the time of the Punic Wars, as campaigns had become longer and took place further from Rome, pay had been introduced, and the army consisted of citizens who possessed a certain minimum of property; they were organised into legions under consuls and military tribunes.

A consular army (a force commanded by a consul) normally consisted of two legions of about 4,200 infantrymen, supported by 300 cavalry. The legion was organised in three divisions of hastati, principes and triarii, of which the first two were 1,200 strong, and the last 600; there were also 1,200 light-armed troops (velites). The legion was divided into 30 maniples of two centuries each, and was commanded by the consul, six military tribunes and sixty centurions. Each maniple was commanded by the senior of its two centurions. The hastati and principes were equipped with two throwing-spears (pilum) and a sword (gladius, cf. III), and were protected by a helmet (cassis), an oval shield (scutum), and a corselet usually of leather (lorica), cf. Plate II. The triarii were similarly equipped, except that instead of the

pilum they retained the old Roman thrusting spear (hasta). The velites had only a small round shield (parma) and a light throwing-spear (iaculum). The dress of a centurion is shown in Plate V.

Roman artillery was of two kinds, the catapulta (or scorpio), which fired arrows more or less horizontally, and the ballista, which fired stones in a trajectory



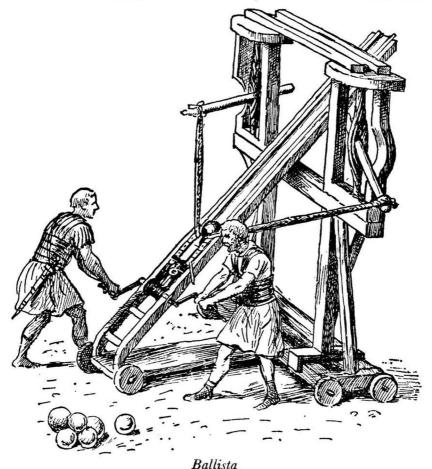
Catapulta

like a howitzer's. Both types gained their power from twisted strands of gut or horsehair which were tightened by a windlass, and then released, thus discharging the projectile. Artillery was chiefly used in defence of cities; it was too heavy to be useful in the field or on board ship. For covering fire in battle the Romans relied upon slingers and archers and their own pila.

In battle the legion was drawn up in three lines of hastati, principes, triarii, with intervals between the maniples of each line which were covered by the maniples of the one behind.

 	 	 Hastati
 	 	 Principes
	 	 Triarii

The attack began with skirmishing by the cavalry and velites; then the hastati advanced, threw their pila, and engaged the enemy with their swords.



If they were unsuccessful, the principes advanced through the gaps between the maniples of hastati and took their place. The triarii were held in reserve, and in a crisis the hastati and principes could fall back on them and make a stand. These straightforward tactics suited the Romans' natural discipline and determination admirably, and could be quickly mastered by their largely amateur soldiers and

officers; they were, however, useless against a general and an army as skilful and enterprising as Hannibal and his professionals. One of the themes of this book is the way in which Scipio gradually learnt to apply the lessons which Hannibal was teaching the Romans, until at Zama master and pupil come face to face.

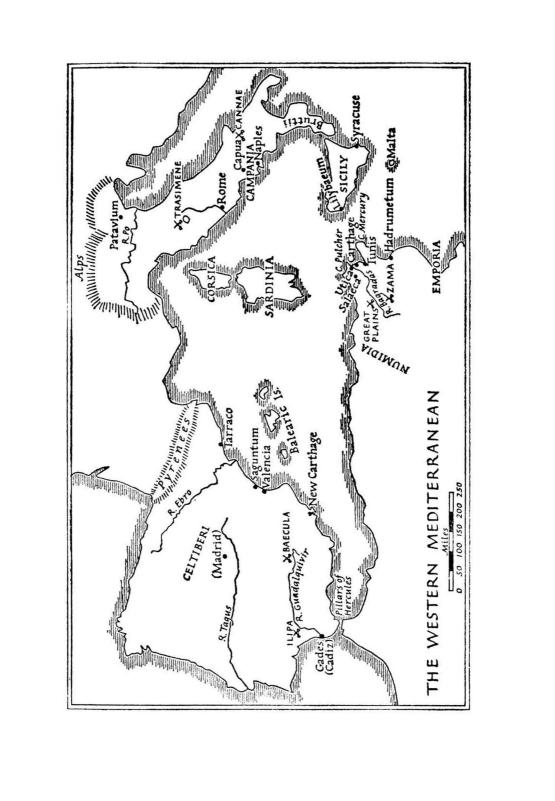
III. LIVY

Titus Livius (59 B.C.—17 A.D.) was born at Patavium (Padua) and became a member of the group of writers and poets which the emperor Augustus gathered together in Rome. He embarked on his great history of Rome, Ab Urbe Condita, at the age of 30, and had written 142 books when he died, taking the story as far as 9 B.C.; only thirty-five books survive. He wrote in annalistic form, describing events year by year as they occurred, instead of following one topic or campaign from start to finish, as modern historians do.

Livy gained some of his information about the events of the Punic Wars from official records and the works of earlier Roman historians such as the Coelius mentioned in VII (a), but his chief authority is a Greek writer, Polybius, who was sent to Rome as a hostage in 168 B.C., where he was befriended by Scipio Aemilianus, the adopted grandson of Scipio Africanus. Polybius wrote a History of Rome for the years 220-146 B.C., and thanks to his friendship with Scipio's family he was able to obtain first-hand accounts of many of the events of the Second Punic War, and his own political and military experience in Greece and on Scipio Aemilianus' staff make him a valuable source of explanation of some of Livy's more obscure passages. This is especially true of military details, for which Livy showed little interest, as we shall see in the course of this story.

Indeed Livy's purpose in writing his history was moral rather than factual. Like Vergil, his contemporary, he was inspired by a sense of the greatness and destiny of Rome. Throughout his boyhood and early manhood the Civil Wars had raged, and Rome appeared to be destroying herself, but as Augustus restored peace and brought back sound government and law and order, men began to feel that Rome was herself again. And just as in England, after the long nightmare of the Wars of the Roses, the stability of Tudor rule fostered a new sense of national pride, so that Shakespeare and his fellow playwrights looked back to the earlier days of English greatness under Henry V and felt that all was well again, so Vergil was inspired to recall the heroic father of the nation in his Aeneid, and Livy to compose his prose epic of the past glories of Rome. Livy is anxious to describe to his contemporaries the character and policies of the great men of Rome's past, and the subsequent decline of morality and discipline as the increase of wealth brought in luxury and greed. His purpose is to warn against evil and to encourage the good, so that Rome may continue with the work to which Augustus had recalled her.

In the notes to this book reference is occasionally made to Livy's inadequacies, so that it is as well that we should notice his special talents also. He excels at visualising scenes (e.g. in I, the dilemma of the Roman people when there were no volunteers to take command in Spain, or in XII, the atmosphere at Rome and Carthage as the final conflict approached) and at portraying people; his character-sketch of Scipio (I), and his descriptions of Hannibal's departure from Italy (XI) and of the meeting between Scipio and Hannibal (XIII) are masterpieces of vivid characterisation.



SCIPIO AFRICANUS

I SCIPIO'S FIRST COMMAND

(a)

After the defeat of the Roman armies in Spain, in which both the commanders, Cnaeus and Publius Scipio, were killed, elections are held at Rome to appoint a new general. At first there are no volunteers for such a dangerous post; then a dramatic intervention by the young Scipio gains him the command by a unanimous vote. Almost at once the people begin to have second thoughts about their choice.

Inter haec Hispaniae populi nec qui post cladem acceptam defecerant redibant ad Romanos, nec ulli noui deficiebant; et Romae senatui populoque post receptam Capuam non Italiae iam maior quam Hispaniae cura erat. Et exercitum augeri imperatorem mitti placebat; nec tam quem mitterent satis constabat quam illud, ubi duo summi imperatores intra dies triginta cecidissent, qui in locum duorum succederet extraordinaria cura deligendum esse. Cum alii alium nominarent, postremum eo 10 decursum est ut proconsuli creando in Hispaniam comitia haberentur; diemque comitiis consules Primo exspectauerant ut qui se tanto edixerunt. imperio dignos crederent nomina profiterentur; quae ut destituta exspectatio est, redintegratus luctus 15 acceptae cladis desideriumque imperatorum amissorum.

Maesta itaque ciuitas prope inops consilii comitiorum die tamen in campum descendit; atque in 20 magistratus uersi circumspectant ora principum aliorum alios intuentium fremuntque adeo perditas res desperatumque de re publica esse ut nemo audeat in Hispaniam imperium accipere, cum subito P. Cornelius, Publi filius eius qui in Hispania ceciderat, 25 quattuor et uiginti ferme annos natus, professus se petere, in superiore unde conspici posset loco constitit. In quem postquam omnium ora conuersa sunt, clamore ac fauore ominati extemplo sunt felix faustumque imperium. Iussi deinde inire suffragium ad unum 30 omnes non centuriae modo, sed etiam homines P. Scipioni imperium esse in Hispania iusserunt. Ceterum post rem actam ut iam resederat impetus animorum ardorque, silentium subito ortum et tacita cogitatio quidnam egissent; nonne fauor plus 35 ualuisset quam ratio. Aetatis maxime paenitebat; quidam fortunam etiam domus horrebant nomenque ex funestis duabus familiis in eas prouincias ubi inter sepulcra patris patruique res gerendae essent proficiscentis.

(b)

Scipio rekindles their enthusiasm; his character and influence, and the legend of his birth.

Quam ubi ab re tanto impetu acta sollicitudinem curamque hominum animaduertit, aduocata contione ita de aetate sua imperioque mandato et bello quod gerundum esset magno elatoque animo disseruit, ut 5 ardorem eum qui resederat excitaret rursus nouaretque et impleret homines certioris spei quam quantam fides promissi humani aut ratio ex fiducia rerum

subicere solet. Fuit enim Scipio non ueris tantum uirtutibus mirabilis, sed arte quoque quadam ab iuuenta in ostentationem earum compositus, pleraque 10 apud multitudinem aut per nocturnas uisas species aut uelut diuinitus mente monita agens, siue et ipse capti quadam superstitione animi, siue ut imperia consiliaque uelut sorte oraculi missa sine cunctatione exsequerentur. Ad hoc iam inde ab initio praeparans 15 animos, ex quo togam uirilem sumpsit nullo die prius ullam publicam priuatamque rem egit quam in Capitolium iret ingressusque aedem consideret et plerumque solus in secreto ibi tempus tereret. mos per omnem uitam seruatus seu consulto seu 20 temere uolgatae opinioni fidem apud quosdam fecit stirpis eum diuinae uirum esse, rettulitque famam in Alexandro magno prius uolgatam, et uanitate et fabula parem, anguis immanis concubitu conceptum, et in cubiculo matris eius uisam persaepe prodigii 25 eius speciem interuentuque hominum euolutam repente atque ex oculis elapsam. His miraculis nunquam ab ipso elusa fides est; quin potius aucta arte quadam nec abnuendi tale quicquam nec palam adfirmandi. Multa alia eiusdem generis, alia uera, 30 alia adsimulata, admirationis humanae in eo iuuene excesserant modum; quibus freta tunc ciuitas aetati haudquaquam maturae tantam rerum molem tantumque imperium permisit. from XXVI, 18-19

II A DARING SWOOP

When Scipio reached Spain the Romans were confined to the north of the river Ebro. There were three Carthaginian armies in Spain, one under Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo near the mouth of the river Tagus, one under Mago near the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar), and the third under Hasdrubal Barca near Madrid. Scipio was afraid that, if he tried to attack one of these armies, the others would have time to combine against him, and so, realising that none of them was within ten days' march of their main base, New Carthage (Cartagena), he resolved upon a surprise attack. 209 B.C.

(a)

Scipio marches on New Carthage by land and sea; his speech to his troops emphasises the outstanding military, political, and economic importance of capturing the city.

Nemo omnium quo iretur sciebat praeter C. Laelium. Is classe circummissus ita moderari cursum nauium iussus erat ut eodem tempore Scipio ab terra exercitum ostenderet et classis portum intraret. 5 Septimo die ab Hibero Carthaginem uentum est simul terra marique. Castra ab regione urbis qua in septentrionem uersa est posita; his ab tergo—nam frons natura tuta erat—uallum obiectum.

Cetera quae munienda erant cum perfecisset, naues to etiam in portu uelut maritimam quoque ostentans obsidionem instruxit; circumuectusque classem cum monuisset praefectos nauium ut uigilias nocturnas intenti seruarent, omnia ubique primo obsessum hostem conari, regressus in castra ut consilii sui rationem quod ab urbe potissimum oppugnanda bellum orsus esset militibus ostenderet et spem potiundae cohortando faceret, contione aduocata ita disseruit:

'Ad urbem unam oppugnandam si quis uos 20 adductos credit, is magis operis uestri quam emolu-

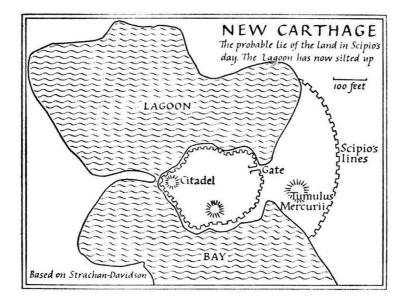
menti rationem exactam, milites, habet; oppugnabitis enim uere moenia unius urbis, sed in una urbe uniuersam ceperitis Hispaniam. Hic sunt obsides omnium nobilium regum populorumque, qui simul in potestate uestra erunt, extemplo omnia quae nunc 25 sub Carthaginiensibus sunt in dicionem tradent; hic pecunia omnis hostium, sine qua neque illi gerere bellum possunt, quippe qui mercennarios exercitus alant, et quae nobis maximo usui ad conciliandos animos barbarorum erit; hic tormenta arma omnis 30 apparatus belli est, qui simul et uos instruet et hostes nudabit. Potiemur praeterea cum pulcherrima opulentissimaque urbe tum opportunissima portu egregio unde terra marique quae belli usus poscunt suppeditentur; quae cum magna ipsi habebimus tum 35 dempserimus hostibus multo maiora. Haec illis arx, hoc horreum aerarium armamentarium, hoc omnium rerum receptaculum est; huc rectus ex Africa cursus est; haec una inter Pyrenaeum et Gades statio; hinc omni Hispaniae imminet Africa.' 40

(b)

The Romans repel a sortie and attack the walls by land and sea. Cf. Plate IV.

Cum terra marique instrui oppugnationem uideret et ipse copias ita disponit. Oppidanorum duo milia ab ea parte qua castra Romana erant opponit: quingentis militibus arcem insidit, quingentos tumulo urbis in orientem uerso imponit: multitudinem aliam 5 quo clamor, quo subita uocasset res intentam ad omnia occurrere iubet. Patefacta deinde porta eos quos in uia ferente ad castra hostium instruxerat

emittit. Romani duce ipso praecipiente parumper 10 cessere, ut propiores subsidiis in certamine ipso summittendis essent. Et primo haud impares stetere acies; subsidia deinde identidem summissa e castris non auerterunt solum in fugam hostes, sed adeo effusis



institerunt ut nisi receptui cecinisset permixti fugienti-15 bus inrupturi fuisse in urbem uiderentur.

Trepidatio uero non in proelio maior quam tota urbe fuit; multae stationes pauore atque fuga desertae sunt relictique muri cum qua cuique erat proximum desiluissent. Quod ubi egressus Scipio in tumulum quem Mercuri uocant animaduertit multis partibus nudata defensoribus moenia esse, omnes e castris excitos ire ad oppugnandam urbem et ferre scalas iubet. Ipse trium prae se iuuenum ualidorum scutis oppositis—ingens enim iam uis omnis generis telorum prae e muris uolabat—ad urbem succedit; hortatur imperat quae in rem sunt, quodque plurimum ad

accendendos militum animos intererat, testis spectatorque uirtutis atque ignauiae cuiusque adest. Itaque in uolnera ac tela ruunt; neque illos muri neque superstantes armati arcere queunt quin certatim 30 adscendant. Et ab nauibus eodem tempore ea quae mari adluitur pars urbis oppugnari coepta est. Ceterum tumultus inde maior quam uis adhiberi poterat. Dum applicant, dum raptim exponunt scalas militesque dum qua cuique proximum est in 35 terram euadere properant, ipsa festinatione et certamine alii alios impediunt.

(c)

The city's defences are too strong, and the Romans' first assault is beaten off. Scipio, however, renews the frontal attack to hold the enemy's attention, while he launches a surprise assault from the lagoon side.

Inter haec repleuerat iam Poenus armatis muros, et uis magna ex ingenti copia congesta telorum suppeditabat; sed neque uiri nec tela nec quicquam aliud aeque quam moenia ipsa sese defendebant. Rarae enim scalae altitudini aequari poterant, et quo quae- 5 que altiores, eo infirmiores erant. Itaque cum summus quisque euadere non posset, subirent tamen alii, onere ipso frangebantur. Quidam stantibus scalis cum altitudo caliginem oculis offudisset, ad terram delati sunt. Et cum passim homines scalae- 10 que ruerent et ipso successu audacia atque alacritas hostium cresceret, signum receptui datum est; quod spem non praesentis modo ab tanto certamine ac labore quietis obsessis, sed etiam in posterum dedit scalis et corona capi urbem non posse: opera et 15

difficilia esse et tempus datura ad ferendam opem imperatoribus suis.

Vix prior tumultus conticuerat cum Scipio ab defessis iam uolneratisque recentes integrosque alios 20 accipere scalas iubet et ui maiore adgredi urbem. Ipse ut ei nuntiatum est aestum decedere, quod per piscatores Tarraconenses, nunc leuibus cumbis, nunc ubi eae siderent uadis peruagatos stagnum, compertum habebat facilem pedibus ad murum transitum 25 dari, eo secum armatos quingentos duxit. Medium ferme diei erat, et ad id, quod sua sponte cedente in mare aestu trahebatur aqua, acer etiam septentrio ortus inclinatum stagnum eodem quo aestus ferebat et adeo nudauerat uada ut alibi umbilico tenus aqua 30 esset, alibi genua uix superaret. Hoc cura ac ratione compertum in prodigium ac deos uertens Scipio qui ad transitum Romanis mare uerterent et stagna auferrent uiasque ante nunquam initas humano uestigio aperirent, Neptunum iubebat ducem itineris 35 sequi ac medio stagno euadere ad moenia.

(d)

The assault-party enter the city unopposed, break down the gates, and let in the main body; the Carthaginians surrender.

Vbi urbem sine certamine intrauere, pergunt inde quanto maximo cursu poterant ad eam portam circa quam omne contractum certamen erat; in quod adeo intenti omnium non animi solum fuere sed etiam oculi auresque pugnantium spectantiumque et adhortantium pugnantes ut nemo ante ab tergo senserit captam urbem quam tela in auersos inciderunt et

utrimque ancipitem hostem habebant. Tunc turbatis defensoribus metu et moenia capta et porta intus forisque pariter refringi coepta; et mox caedendo 10 confectis ac distractis ne iter impediretur foribus armati impetum fecerunt. Magna multitudo et muros transcendebat; sed hi passim ad caedem oppidanorum uersi; illa quae portam ingressa erat iusta acies cum ducibus, cum ordinibus media urbe 15 usque in forum processit. Inde cum duobus itineribus fugientes uideret hostes, alios ad tumulum in orientem uersum qui tenebatur quingentorum militum praesidio, alios in arcem in quam et ipse Mago cum omnibus fere armatis qui muris pulsi fuerant refugerat, 20 partem copiarum ad tumulum expugnandum mittit, partem ipse ad arcem ducit. Et tumulus primo impetu est captus, et Mago arcem conatus defendere, cum omnia hostium plena uideret neque spem ullam esse, se arcemque et praesidium dedidit. Quoad 25 dedita arx est, caedes tota urbe passim factae nec ulli puberum qui obuius fuit parcebatur: tum signo dato caedibus finis factus, ad praedam uictores uersi, quae ingens omnis generis fuit.

(e)

The value of the city and the treatment of the inhabitants. Slavery was the usual fate of those who survived the capture of their city, but Scipio had the imagination (not a common Roman quality) to see that he could make better use of many of his prisoners if he treated them more leniently.

Liberorum capitum uirile secus ad decem milia capta; inde qui ciues Nouae Carthaginis erant dimisit urbemque et sua omnia quae reliqua eis

bellum fecerat restituit. Opifices ad duo milia 5 hominum erant; eos publicos fore populi Romani edixit, cum spe propinqua libertatis si ad ministeria belli enixe operam nauassent. Ceteram multitudinem incolarum iuuenum ac ualidorum seruorum in classem ad supplementum remigum dedit; et auxerat 10 nauibus octo captiuis classem. Extra hanc multitudinem Hispanorum obsides erant, quorum perinde ac si sociorum liberi essent cura habita. Captus et apparatus ingens belli; catapultae maximae formae centum uiginti, minores ducentae octoginta una; 15 ballistae maiores uiginti tres, minores quinquaginta duae; scorpionum maiorum minorumque et armorum telorumque ingens numerus; signa militaria septuaginta quattuor. Et auri argenti relata ad imperatorem magna uis: paterae aureae fuerunt ducentae 20 septuaginta sex, librales ferme omnes pondo; argenti infecti signatique decem et octo milia et trecenta pondo, uasorum argenteorum magnus numerus; haec omnia C. Flaminio quaestori appensa adnumerataque sunt; tritici quadringenta milia modium, hordei 25 ducenta septuaginta. Naues onerariae sexaginta tres in portu expugnatae captaeque, quaedam cum suis oneribus, frumento, armis, aere praeterea ferroque et linteis et sparto et nauali alia materia ad classem aedificandam, ut minimum omnium inter tantas opes 30 belli captas Carthago ipsa fuerit.

from XXVI, 42 - 47

III THE NEW MODEL ARMY

Scipio trains his troops and mobilises the industrial capacity of New Carthage for war production.

Ipse paucos dies quibus morari Carthagine statuerat exercendis naualibus pedestribusque copiis absumpsit. Primo die legiones in armis quattuor milium spatio decurrerunt; secundo die arma curare et tergere ante tentoria iussi; tertio die rudibus inter se in modum 5 iustae pugnae concurrerunt praepilatisque missilibus iaculati sunt; quarto die quies data; quinto iterum in armis decursum est. Hunc ordinem laboris quietisque quoad Carthagine morati sunt seruarunt. Remigium classicique milites tranquillo in altum 10 euecti, agilitatem nauium simulacris naualis pugnae experiebantur. Haec extra urbem terra marique corpora simul animosque ad bellum acuebant; urbs ipsa strepebat apparatu belli fabris omnium generum in publicam officinam inclusis. Dux cuncta pari 15 cura obibat: nunc in classe ac nauali erat, nunc cum legionibus decurrebat: nunc operibus adspiciendis tempus dabat, quaeque in officinis quaeque in armamentario ac naualibus fabrorum multitudo plurima in singulos dies certamine ingenti faciebat. 20 from XXVI, 51

The armourers were engaged in building up a reserve of weapons and in re-equipping the army with the Spanish sword, which was longer than the Roman stabbing sword and, being well-pointed and having two cutting edges, could be used for cut-and-thrust fighting as well as for stabbing. The reserve of weapons enabled Scipio in the following year to lay up his fleet and use the crews to increase the size of his army, which was numerically inferior to the Carthaginians.

The training given to the troops was of two kinds. First they were trained in the use of their weapons, and especially their new swords, which called for greater individual skill than the old, and secondly in new tactics. Hannibal had shown that the fatal weakness of the Roman army was its inflexibility. At Cannae he had drawn the Romans forward by allowing his centre to retreat until his wings could outflank them; finally his cavalry took them in the rear and almost the whole Roman army was destroyed, for it was not trained to do anything but attack the enemy in front, and could find no answer to this unexpected situation.

In his battles in Spain and Africa we can see Scipio gaining increasing mastery of the art of handling the wings and centre, the cavalry and infantry, as independent units, each with its own special part in his plan, until finally at Zama he was ready to do what no Roman general had dared to do since Cannae, to face Hannibal in the open field.

The first test of the New Model Army came at Baecula.

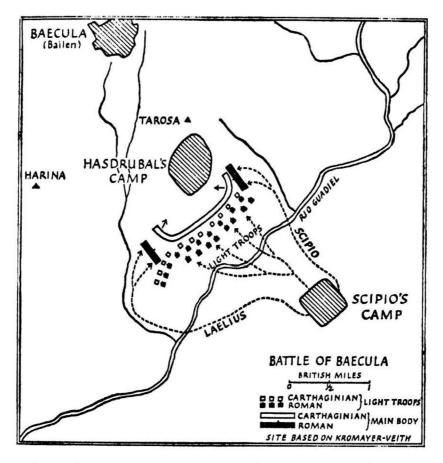
IV THE FIRST TEST

(a)

Hasdrubal's outposts are driven back by the Romans, and he retires to a strong defensive position. Scipio encourages his men by recalling their capture of New Carthage. 208 B.C.

Proximus Carthaginiensium exercitus Hasdrubalis prope urbem Baeculam erat. Pro castris equitum stationes habebant. In eas uelites antesignanique et qui primi agminis erant aduenientes ex itinere 5 priusquam castris locum acciperent, adeo contemptim impetum fecerunt ut facile appareret quid utrique parti animorum esset. In castra trepida fuga compulsi equites sunt signaque Romana portis prope

ipsis inlata. Atque illo quidem die inritatis tantum ad certamen animis castra Romani posuerunt: nocte 10 Hasdrubal in tumulum copias recipit plano campo in summo patentem; fluuius ab tergo, ante circaque



uelut ripa praeceps oram eius omnem cingebat. Suberat et altera inferior summissa fastigio planities; eam quoque altera crepido haud facilior in adscensum 15 ambibat. In hunc inferiorem campum postero die Hasdrubal postquam stantem pro castris hostium aciem uidit, equites Numidas leuiumque armorum Baliares et Afros demisit.

Scipio circumuectus ordines signaque ostendebat hostem praedamnata spe aequo dimicandi campo captantem tumulos, loci fiducia non uirtutis armorumque stare in conspectu; sed altiora moenia habuisse Carthaginem, quae transcendisset miles Romanus; nec tumulos nec arcem, ne mare quidem armis obstitisse suis. Ad id fore altitudines quas cepissent hostibus ut per praecipitia et praerupta salientes fugerent; eam quoque se illis fugam clausurum. Cohortesque duas alteram tenere fauces uallis per quam deferretur amnis iubet, alteram uiam insidere quae ab urbe per tumuli obliqua in agros ferret.

(b)

Scipio divides his army into three sections; his lightarmed troops drive off the enemy's skirmishers and engage his centre, while the legions, instead of advancing in the conventional frontal attack, march out to left and right to outflank the Carthaginians. But Hasdrubal is able to hold the flank attacks long enough to withdraw his centre, and Scipio's victory is incomplete.

Ipse expeditos qui pridie stationes hostium pepulerant ad leuem armaturam infimo stantem supercilio ducit. Per aspreta primum, nihil aliud quam uia impediti, iere; deinde ut sub ictum uenerunt, telorum primo omnis generis uis ingens effusa in eos est; ipsi contra saxa quae locus strata passim, omnia ferme missilia, praebet ingerere, non milites solum, sed etiam turba calonum immixta armatis.

Ceterum quamquam adscensus difficilis erat et 10 prope obruebantur telis saxisque, adsuetudine tamen succedendi muros et pertinacia animi subierunt primi.

Qui simul cepere aliquid aequi loci ubi firmo consisterent gradu, leuem et concursatorem hostem atque interuallo tutum cum procul missilibus pugna eluditur, instabilem eundem ad comminus conserendas manus, 15 expulerunt loco et cum caede magna in aciem altiore superstantem tumulo impegere. Inde Scipio iussis aduersus mediam euadere aciem uictoribus ceteras copias cum Laelio diuidit, atque eum parte dextra tumuli circumire donec mollioris adscensus uiam 20 inueniret iubet: ipse ab laeua, circuitu haud magno, in transuersos hostes incurrit. Inde primo turbata acies est dum ad circumsonantem undique clamorem flectere cornua et obuertere ordines uolunt. tumultu et Laelius subiit; et dum pedem referunt 25 ne ab tergo uolnerarentur, laxata prima acies locusque ad euadendum et mediis datus est, qui per tam iniquum locum stantibus integris ordinibus elephantisque ante signa locatis nunquam euasissent. Cum ab omni parte caedes fieret Scipio, qui laeuo 30 cornu in dextrum incucurrerat, maxime in nuda latera hostium pugnabat; et iam ne fugae quidem patebat locus; nam et stationes utrimque Romanae dextra laeuaque insederant uias, et porta castrorum ducis principumque fuga clausa erat, addita trepi- 35 datione elephantorum quos territos aeque atque hostes timebant. Caesa igitur ad octo milia hominum.

XXVII, 18

V THE END IN SPAIN

In the following year, 207 B.C., the Carthaginians made a great effort to destroy Scipio, who met them at Ilipa, near Seville, with 40,000 troops (of whom little more than 25,000 were Romans) against their 50,000 infantry and 4,500 cavalry.

(a)

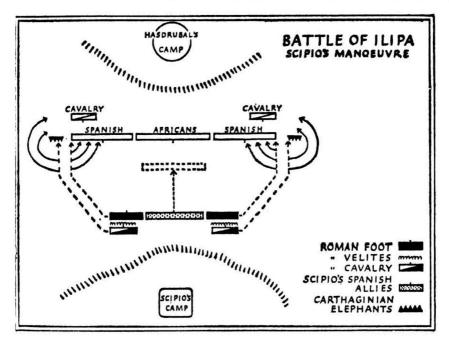
In order to counterbalance his inferiority in numbers, Scipio makes preparations to take Hasdrubal by surprise.

Vbi satis temptatae per haec leuia certamina uires sunt, prior Hasdrubal in aciem copias eduxit, deinde et Romani processere; sed utraque acies pro uallo stetit instructa, et cum ab neutris pugna coepta esset, s iam die ad occasum inclinante a Poeno prius, deinde ab Romano in castra copiae reductae. Hoc idem per dies aliquot factum. Prior semper Poenus copias castris educebat, prior fessis stando signum receptui dabat; ab neutra parte procursum telumue missum 10 aut uox ulla orta. Mediam aciem hinc Romani illinc Carthaginienses mixti Afris, cornua socii tenebant erant autem utrisque Hispani-; pro cornibus ante Punicam aciem elephanti castellorum procul speciem praebebant. Iam hoc in utrisque castris sermonis 15 erat, ita ut instructi stetissent pugnaturos; medias acies, Romanum Poenumque, quos inter belli causa esset, pari robore animorum armorumque concursuros. Scipio ubi hoc obstinate credi animaduertit, omnia de industria in eum diem quo pugnaturus erat 20 mutauit. Tesseram uesperi per castra dedit ut ante lucem uiri equique curati pransi essent, armatus eques frenatos instratosque teneret equos.

(b)

Scipio launches a surprise attack and changes his order of battle, so that his Spanish allies are in the centre and his legions face Hasdrubal's weaker troops on the flanks.

Vixdum satis certa luce equitatum omnem cum leui armatura in stationes Punicas immisit; inde confestim ipse cum graui agmine legionum procedit, praeter opinionem destinatam suorum hostiumque Romano milite cornibus firmatis, sociis in mediam 5



aciem acceptis. Hasdrubal clamore equitum excitatus ut ex tabernaculo prosiluit tumultumque ante uallum et trepidationem suorum et procul signa legionum fulgentia plenosque hostium campos uidit, equitatum omnem extemplo in equites emittit; ipse 10 cum peditum agmine castris egreditur, nec ex ordine solito quicquam acie instruenda mutat. Equitum iam diu anceps pugna erat nec ipsa per se decerni poterat quia pulsis, quod prope in uicem fiebat, in aciem peditum tutus receptus erat; sed ubi iam haud 15 plus quingentos passus acies inter sese aberant, signo receptui dato Scipio patefactisque ordinibus equitatum

omnem leuemque armaturam in medium acceptam diuisamque in partes duas in subsidiis post cornua locat. Inde ubi incipiendae iam pugnae tempus erat, Hispanos—ea media acies fuit—presso gradu incedere iubet; ipse e dextro cornu—ibi namque praeerat—nuntium ad Silanum et Marcium mittit ut cornu extenderent in sinistram partem quemadmodum se tendentem ad dextram uidissent, et cum expeditis peditum equitumque prius pugnam consererent cum hoste quam coire inter se mediae acies possent. Ita diductis cornibus cum ternis peditum cohortibus ternisque equitum turmis, ad hoc uelitibus, citato gradu in hostem ducebant sequentibus in obliquum aliis; sinus in medio erat, qua segnius Hispanorum signa incedebant.

(c)

Hasdrubal's best troops stand idle while his flanks are overwhelmed.

Et iam conflixerant cornua cum quod roboris in acie hostium erat, Poeni ueterani Afrique, nondum ad teli coniectum uenissent, neque in cornua ut adiuuarent pugnantes discurrere auderent ne aperirent mediam aciem uenienti ex aduerso hosti. Cornua ancipiti proelio urgebantur; eques leuisque armatura (ac) uelites circumductis alis in latera incurrebant: cohortes a fronte urgebant ut abrumperent cornua a cetera acie; et cum ab omni parte haudquaquam par pugna erat, tum quod turba Baliarium tironumque Hispanorum Romano Latinoque militi obiecta erat. Et procedente iam die uires etiam deficere Hasdrubalis exercitum coeperant, oppressos matutino tumultu coactosque priusquam cibo corpora firmarent raptim

in aciem exire; et ad id sedulo diem extraxerat 15 Scipio ut sera pugna esset; nam ab septima demum hora peditum signa cornibus incucurrerunt; ad medias acies aliquanto serius peruenit pugna, ita ut prius aestus a meridiano sole laborque standi sub armis et simul fames sitisque corpora adficerent quam 20 manus cum hoste consererent. Itaque steterunt scutis innixi. Iam super cetera elephanti etiam tumultuoso genere pugnae equitum uelitumque et leuis armaturae consternati e cornibus in mediam aciem sese intulerant. Fessi igitur corporibus animis- 25 que rettulere pedem, ordines tamen seruantes haud secus quam si imperio ducis cederet integra acies.

(d)

The Carthaginian retreat becomes a rout, and so many Spaniards desert that Hasdrubal is forced to abandon his camp.

Sed cum eo ipso acrius ubi inclinatam sensere rem uictores se undique inueherent, nec facile impetus sustineri posset quamquam retinebat obsistebatque cedentibus Hasdrubal ab tergo esse colles tutumque receptum si modice se reciperent clamitans, tamen 5 uincente metu uerecundiam cum proximus quisque hostem cederet, terga extemplo data, atque in fugam sese omnes effuderunt. Ac primo consistere signa in radicibus collium ac reuocare in ordines militem coeperant cunctantibus in aduersum collem erigere 10 aciem Romanis; deinde ut inferri impigre signa uiderunt, integrata fuga in castra pauidi compelluntur. Nec procul uallo Romanus aberat; cepissetque tanto impetu castra nisi ex uehementi sole,

15 qualis inter graues imbre nubes effulget, tanta uis aquae deiecta esset ut uix in castra sua receperint se uictores, quosdam etiam religio ceperit ulterius quicquam eo die conandi. Carthaginienses, quamquam fessos labore ac uolneribus nox imberque ad 20 necessariam quietem uocabat, tamen quia metus et periculum cessandi non dabat tempus prima luce oppugnaturis hostibus castra, saxis undique circa ex propinquis uallibus congestis augent uallum, munimento sese quando in armis parum praesidii 25 foret defensuri; sed transitio sociorum fuga ut tutior mora uideretur fecit. Principium defectionis ab Attene regulo Turdetanorum factum est; is cum magna popularium manu transfugit; inde duo munita oppida cum praesidiis tradita a praefectis 30 Romano: et ne latius inclinatis semel ad defectionem animis serperet res, silentio proximae noctis Hasdrubal castra mouet.

XXVIII, 14 - 15

'Military history contains no more classic example of generalship than this battle of Ilipa. Rarely has so complete a victory been gained by a weaker over a stronger force, and this result was due to a perfect application of the principles of surprise and concentration.' Capt. Liddell-Hart.

Scipio's tactics were an improvement upon those he had used at Baecula. This time he was able to hold the Carthaginian centre with the threat of his Spanish allies, so that they could neither help the troops on their flanks nor make their own escape, as they had done in the previous battle. This crushing defeat, and the severity of Scipio's pursuit, forced Hasdrubal and Mago to abandon the remnants of their army; Hasdrubal withdrew to Carthage, while Mago made

his way to Italy, and so the Carthaginians were driven from

Spain and Scipio returned to Rome.

There he was elected consul for 205 B.C., but within the senate there was strong opposition to his policy of invading Africa. The conservative senators, led by Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator, wanted only to drive Hannibal from Italy and then to make peace and repair the terrible damage that Italy had suffered. Scipio saw that Hannibal's expulsion would not be enough to ensure Rome's security, but that Carthage herself must be humbled if the danger was not to return.

The senate as a whole opposed Scipio, but realised that if they denied him what he wanted, he would appeal to the people, amongst whom his popularity was so great that he would certainly get his way. Therefore they allowed him to have Sicily as his province, with the right to invade Africa 'if he thought that the interests of the state demanded it'. Everybody knew what the interests of the state would demand, but responsibility for failure would rest solely upon Scipio himself.

However, although it gave him the authority he sought, the senate refused Scipio the right to levy troops. Yet such was his personal influence that he sailed to Sicily with a force of 7,000 volunteers and 30 new warships. The story which follows may be unhistorical, but, like our own famous myth of Drake's game of bowls, it deserves to be repeated for the light it casts on the character of its hero.

VI WANTED—300 GOOD CAVALRYMEN, CHEAP

Scipio postquam in Siciliam uenit, uoluntarios milites ordinauit centuriauitque. Ex iis trecentos

iuuenes, florentes aetate et uirium robore insignes, inermes circa se habebat, ignorantes quem ad usum neque centuriati neque armati seruarentur. 5 totius Siciliae iuniorum numero principes genere et fortuna trecentos equites qui secum in Africam traicerent legit, diemque iis qua equis armisque instructi atque ornati adessent edixit. Grauis ea 10 militia, procul domo, terra marique multos labores magna pericula allatura uidebatur; neque ipsos modo sed parentes cognatosque eorum ea cura angebat. Vbi dies quae dicta erat aduenit, arma equosque ostenderunt. Tum Scipio renuntiari sibi dixit quos-15 dam equites Siculorum tamquam grauem et duram horrere eam militam: si qui ita animati essent, malle eos sibi iam tum fateri quam postmodo querentes segnes atque inutiles milites rei publicae esse; expromerent quid sentirent; cum bona uenia se auditurum. 20 Vbi ex iis unus ausus est dicere se prorsus, si sibi utrum uellet liberum esset, nolle militare, tum Scipio ei: 'Quoniam igitur, adulescens, quid sentires non dissimulasti, uicarium tibi expediam cui tu arma equumque et cetera instrumenta militiae tradas et tecum hinc extemplo domum ducas exerceas docendum cures equo armisque'. Laeto condicionem accipienti unum ex trecentis quos inermes habebat tradit. Vbi hoc modo exauctoratum equitem cum gratia imperatoris ceteri uiderunt, se quisque excusare 30 et uicarium accipere. Ita trecentis Siculis Romani equites substituti sine publica impensa. Docendorum atque exercendorum curam Siculi habuerunt, quia edictum imperatoris erat ipsum militaturum qui ita non fecisset. Egregiam hanc alam equitum euasisse 35 ferunt multisque proeliis rem publicam adiuuisse.

from XXIX, 1

VII THE INVASION OF AFRICA

Scipio spent the year 205 B.C. in Sicily, organising and training his troops, and made no attempt against Carthage beyond sending Laelius to plunder and reconnoitre. But in the following year he launched his attack.

(a)

The invasion army musters at Lilybaeum. Livy's estimate of their numbers.

Quicquid militum nauiumque in Sicilia erat cum Lilybaeum conuenisset et nec urbs multitudinem hominum neque portus naues caperet, tantus omnibus ardor erat in Africam traiciendi ut non ad bellum duci uiderentur sed ad certa uictoriae praemia. 5 Praecipue qui superabant ex Cannensi exercitu milites illo non alio duce credebant nauata rei publicae opera finire se militiam ignominiosam posse. Et Scipio minime id genus militum aspernabatur, ut qui neque ad Cannas ignauia eorum cladem acceptam sciret 10 neque ullos aeque ueteres milites in exercitu Romano esse expertosque non uariis proeliis modo sed urbibus etiam oppugnandis. Quinta et sexta Cannenses erant legiones. Eas se traiecturum in Africam cum dixisset, singulos milites inspexit, relictisque quos non 15 idoneos credebat in locum eorum subjecit quos secum ex Italia adduxerat, suppleuitque ita eas legiones ut singulae sena milia et ducenos pedites, trecenos haberent equites. Sociorum item Latini nominis pedites equitesque de exercitu Cannensi legit. 20 Quantum militum in Africam transportatum sit non paruo numero inter auctores discrepat. Alibi decem milia peditum duo milia et ducentos equites, alibi sedecim milia peditum mille et sescentos equites, alibi parte plus dimidia rem auctam, quinque et triginta milia peditum equitumque in naues imposita (inuenio). Quidam non adiecere numerum, inter quos me ipse in re dubia poni malim. Coelius ut abstinet numero, ita ad immensum multitudinis speciem auget: uolucres ad terram delapsas clamore militum ait tantamque multitudinem conscendisse naues ut nemo mortalium aut in Italia aut in Sicilia relinqui uideretur.

(b)

D day minus 3; the troops embark. Scipio holds a final briefing in the forum. For a Roman warship, see Plate VI(b).

Milites ut naues ordine ac sine tumultu conscenderent ipse eam sibi curam sumpsit: nauticos C. Laelius, qui classis praesectus erat, in nauibus ante conscendere coactos continuit: commeatus imponendi M. Pomponio praetori cura data: quinque et quadraginta dierum cibaria, e quibus quindecim dierum cocta, imposita. Vt omnes iam in nauibus erant, scaphas circummisit ut ex omnibus nauibus gubernatoresque et magistri nauium et bini milites in forum conuenirent ad imperia accipienda. Postquam conuenerunt, primum ab iis quaesiuit si aquam hominibus iumentisque in totidem dies quot frumentum imposuissent. Vbi responderunt aquam dierum quinque et quadraginta in nauibus esse, tum edixit militibus ut 15 silentium quieti nautis sine certamine ad ministeria

exsequenda bene oboedientes praestarent. cum uiginti rostratis se ac L. Scipionem ab dextro cornu, ab laeuo totidem rostratas et C. Laelium praefectum classis cum M. Porcio Catone—quaestor is tum erat—onerariis futurum praesidio. lumina in nauibus 20 singula rostratae, bina onerariae haberent: in praetoria naue insigne nocturnum trium luminum fore. Emporia ut peterent gubernatoribus edixit.—Fertilissimus ager eoque abundans omnium copia rerum est regio, et imbelles—quod plerumque in uberi agro 25 euenit—barbari sunt priusque quam ab Carthagine subueniretur opprimi uidebantur posse.—Iis editis imperiis redire ad naues iussi et postero die dis bene iuuantibus signo dato soluere naues.

(c)

D day. After delays caused by fog and calm the Romans land in Africa.

Vento secundo uehementi satis prouecti celeriter e conspectu terrae ablati sunt; et a meridie nebula occepit ita uix ut concursus nauium inter se uitarent; lenior uentus in alto factus. Noctem insequentem eadem caligo obtinuit: sole orto est discussa, et addita 5 uis uento. Iam terram cernebant. Haud ita multo post gubernator Scipioni ait non plus quinque milia passuum Africam abesse; Mercuri promunturium se cernere; si iubeat eo dirigi, iam in portu fore omnem classem. Scipio, ut in conspectu terra fuit, precatus 10 deos uti bono rei publicae suoque Africam uiderit, dare uela et alium infra nauibus accessum petere iubet. Vento eodem ferebantur; ceterum nebula sub idem ferme tempus quo pridie exorta conspectum

Nox deinde incertiora omnia fecit; itaque ancoras ne aut inter se concurrerent naues aut terrae inferrentur iecere. Vbi inluxit, uentus idem coortus nebula disiecta aperuit omnia Africae litora. Scipio quod esset proximum promuntorium percontatus cum Pulchri promunturium id uocari audisset, 'Placet omen;' inquit 'huc dirigite naues'. Eo classis decurrit, copiaeque omnes in terram expositae sunt.

from XXIX, 24, 25, 27

VIII FIRST BLOOD

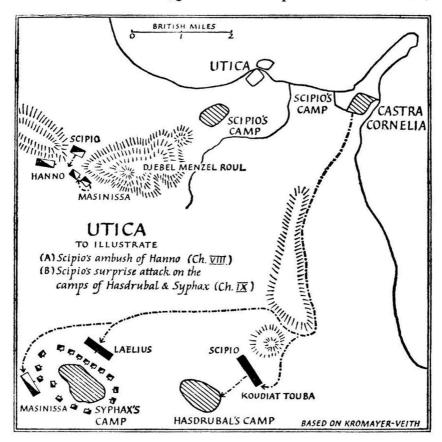
Scipio's first need was to secure a firm base, and so he laid siege to Utica, which had a harbour and would give him a foothold in the Bagradas valley, a fertile region which was Carthage's main source of supplies. Masinissa, a Numidian prince driven from his father's kingdom by Syphax, an ally of Carthage, joined Scipio with a useful force of cavalry.

(a)

Scipio begins the siege of Utica, and sends Masinissa to draw Hanno's Carthaginian cavalry into an ambush.

Ad Vticam tum castra Scipio ferme mille passus ab urbe habebat translata a mari, ubi paucos dies statiua coniuncta classi fuerant. Hanno nequaquam satis ualido non modo ad lacessendum hostem sed ne ad tuendos quidem a populationibus agros equitatu accepto id omnium primum egit ut per conquisitionem numerum equitum augeret; nec aliarum gentium aspernatus, maxime tamen Numidas—id longe

primum equitum in Africa est genus—conducit. Iam ad quattuor milia equitum habebat, cum Salaecam 10 nomine urbem occupauit quindecim ferme milia ab Romanis castris. Quod ubi Scipioni relatum est,



'Aestiua sub tectis equitatus!' inquit 'Sint uel plures, dum talem ducem habeant'. Eo minus sibi cessandum ratus quo illi segnius rem agerent, Masinissam 15 cum equitatu praemissum portis obequitare atque hostem ad pugnam elicere iubet: ubi omnis multitudo se effudisset grauiorque iam in certamine esset quam ut facile sustineri posset, cederet paulatim; se in tempore pugnae obuenturum. Tantum moratus 20

quantum satis temporis praegresso uisum ad eliciendos hostes, cum Romano equitatu secutus tegentibus tumulis, qui peropportune circa uiae flexus oppositi erant, occultus processit.

(b)

The Carthaginians are entited to the scene of the ambush and routed.

Masinissa ex composito nunc terrentis, nunc timentis modo aut ipsis obequitabat portis aut cedendo, cum timoris simulatio audaciam hosti faceret, ad insequendum temere eliciebat. Nondum 5 omnes egressi erant uarieque dux fatigabatur, alios uino et somno graues arma capere et frenare equos cogendo, aliis ne sparsi et inconditi sine ordine sine signis omnibus portis excurrerent obsistendo. Primo incaute se inuehentes Masinissa excipiebat; mox 10 plures simul conferti porta effusi aequauerant certamen; postremo iam omnis equitatus proelio cum adesset, sustineri ultra nequiere; non tamen effusa fuga Masinissa sed cedendo sensim impetus eorum accipiebat donec ad tumulos tegentes Romanum 15 equitatum pertraxit. Inde exorti equites et ipsi integris uiribus et recentibus equis Hannoni Afrisque pugnando ac sequendo fessis se circumfudere; et Masinissa flexis subito equis in pugnam rediit. Mille fere qui primi agminis fuerant, quibus haud facilis 20 receptus fuit, cum ipso duce Hannone interclusi atque interfecti sunt: ceteros ducis praecipue territos caede effuse fugientes per triginta milia passuum uictores secuti ad duo praeterea milia equitum aut ceperunt aut occiderunt. Inter eos satis constabat non minus

ducentos Carthaginiensium equites fuisse, et diuitiis 25 quosdam et genere inlustres.

XXIX, 34

IX FIRE IN THE NIGHT

Utica, however, held out, and Scipio was forced to abandon the siege by the arrival of Hasdrubal and Syphax with superior forces. He retired for the winter to the rocky headland which thus gained the name of Castra Cornelia. At the end of his first summer in Africa he had achieved less than he must have hoped; he had succeeded in landing his army without mishap, but his failure to seize a harbour meant that supplies might have difficulty in reaching him. While he tried through diplomacy to detach Syphax from Carthage, he formed a plan for forestalling the attack which his enemies' superior numbers made inevitable. 203 B.C.

(a)

Scipio learns of the inflammable nature of the enemy's camps, and prolongs the negotiations in order to allow his men to study their layout. Then he launches a night attack.

Hibernacula Carthaginiensium, congesta temere ex agris materia exaedificata, lignea ferme tota erant. Numidae praecipue harundine textis storeaque pars maxima tectis, passim nullo ordine, quidam ut sine imperio occupatis locis extra fossam etiam uallumque 5 habitabant. Haec relata Scipioni spem fecerant castra hostium per occasionem incendendi.

Cum legatis quos mitteret ad Syphacem calonum loco primos ordines spectatae uirtutis atque prudentiae

10 seruili habitu mittebat, qui dum in conloquio legati essent uagi per castra alius alia aditus exitusque omnes, situm formamque et uniuersorum castrorum et partium, qua Poeni qua Numidae haberent, quantum interualli inter Hasdrubalis ac regia castra esset, 15 specularentur moremque simul noscerent stationum uigiliarumque, nocte an interdiu opportuniores insidianti essent; et inter crebra conloquia alii atque alii de industria quo pluribus omnia nota essent mittebantur.

His praeparatis aduocatoque consilio et dicere exploratoribus iussis quae comperta adferrent Masinissaque, cui omnia hostium nota erant, postremo ipse quid pararet in proximam noctem proponit; tribunis edicit ut ubi praetorio dimisso signa concinuissent extemplo educerent castris legiones. Ita ut imperauerat signa sub occasum solis efferri sunt coepta; ad primam ferme uigiliam agmen explicauerunt; media nocte—septem enim milia itineris erant—modico gradu ad castra hostium peruentum est. Ibi Scipio partem copiarum Laelio Masinissamque ac Numidas attribuit et castra Syphacis inuadere ignesque conicere iubet. Se Hasdrubalem Punicaque castra adgressurum; ceterum non ante coepturum quam ignem in regiis castris conspexisset.

35

(b)

First Syphax's camp is fired, then Hasdrubal's, and the enemy are slaughtered as they try to extinguish the flames.

Neque ea res morata diu est; nam ut primis casis iniectus ignis haesit, extemplo proxima quaeque

et deinceps continua amplexus totis se passim dissipauit castris. Et trepidatio quidem quantam necesse erat in nocturno effuso tam late incendio orta est; 5 ceterum fortuitum non hostilem ac bellicum ignem rati esse, sine armis ad restinguendum incendium effusi in armatos incidere hostes, maxime Numidas ab Masinissa notitia regiorum castrorum ad exitus itinerum idoneis locis dispositos. Multos in ipsis 10 cubilibus semisomnos hausit flamma; multi praecipiti fuga ruentes super alios alii in angustiis portarum obtriti sunt. Relucentem flammam primo uigiles Carthaginiensium, deinde excitati alii nocturno tumultu cum conspexissent, ab eodem errore credere 15 et ipsi sua sponte incendium ortum; et clamor inter caedem et uolnera sublatus an ex trepidatione nocturna esset confusis sensum ueri adimebat. Igitur pro se quisque inermes, ut quibus nihil hostile suspectum esset, omnibus portis, qua cuique proximum erat, 20 ea modo quae restinguendo igni forent portantes in agmen Romanum ruebant. Quibus caesis omnibus praeterquam hostili odio etiam ne quis nuntius refugeret, extemplo Scipio neglectas ut in tali tumultu portas inuadit; ignibusque in proxima tecta coniectis 25 effusa flamma primo uelut sparsa pluribus locis reluxit, dein per continua serpens uno repente omnia incendio hausit. Ambusti homines iumentaque foeda primum fuga, dein strage obruebant itinera portarum. Quos non oppresserat ignis ferro absumpti, 30 binaque castra clade una deleta. Duces tamen ambo et ex tot milibus armatorum duo milia peditum et quingenti equites semermes, magna pars saucii adflatique incendio, effugerunt.

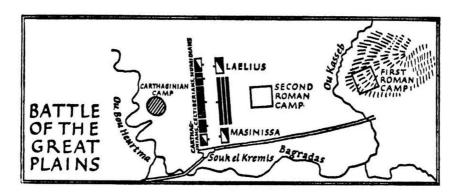
XXX, 3-6

X SUCCESS IN THE GREAT PLAINS

Scipio was now free to resume the siege of Utica, but when he learnt that Hasdrubal and Syphax were gathering a new army at the Great Plains in the Bagradas valley, he decided to attack at once before Hasdrubal could train his new troops. Hasdrubal accepted Scipio's challenge, trusting in his superior numbers (20,000 against 15,000); had he refused battle and used his numerical superiority to cut Scipio off from his base, the Romans would have been in an awkward position.

Scipionem, uelut iam debellato quod ad Syphacem Carthaginiensesque attineret, Vticae oppugnandae intentum iamque machinas admouentem muris 5 auertit fama redintegrati belli; modicisque praesidiis ad speciem modo obsidionis terra marique relictis ipse cum robore exercitus ire ad hostes pergit. Primo in tumulo quattuor milia ferme distante ab castris regiis consedit; postero die cum equitatu in Magnos-ita 10 uocant—campos subiectos ei tumulo degressus, succedendo ad stationes hostium lacessendoque leuibus proeliis diem absumpsit. Et per insequens biduum tumultuosis hinc atque illinc excursionibus in uicem nihil dictu satis dignum fecerunt: quarto die 15 in aciem utrimque descensum est. Romanus principes post hastatorum prima signa, in subsidiis triarios constituit: equitatum Italicum ab dextro cornu, ab laeuo Numidas Masinissamque opposuit. Hasdrubalque Numidis aduersus Italicum equitatum, 20 Carthaginiensibus contra Masinissam locatis Celtiberos in mediam aciem aduersus signa legionum accepere. Ita instructi concurrunt. Primo impetu

simul utraque cornua, et Numidae et Carthaginienses, pulsi; nam neque Numidae, maxima pars agrestes, Romanum equitatum neque Carthaginienses, et ipse 25 nouus miles, Masinissam recenti super cetera uictoria terribilem sustinuere. Nudata utrimque cornibus Celtiberum acies stabat quod nec in fuga salus ulla



ostendebatur locis ignotis neque spes ueniae ab Scipione erat, quem bene meritum de se et gente sua 30 mercennariis armis in Africam oppugnatum uenissent. Igitur circumfusis undique hostibus alii super alios cadentes obstinate moriebantur; omnibusque in eos uersis aliquantum ad fugam temporis Syphax et Hasdrubal praeceperunt. Fatigatos caede diutius 35 quam pugna uictores nox oppressit.

XXX, 8

Syphax retired westwards to his own kingdom, where he was overtaken and captured by Laelius and Masinissa. Hasdrubal withdrew to Carthage, where preparations were in hand to resist a siege, and it was decided to recall Hannibal and his army from Italy.

XI HANNIBAL TO THE RESCUE

Hannibal receives the news of his recall with great bitterness and a sense of personal failure.

Frendens gemensque ac uix lacrimis temperans dicitur legatorum uerba audisse. Postquam edita sunt mandata, 'Iam non perplexe' inquit 'sed palam reuocant qui uetando supplementum et pecuniam 5 mitti iam pridem retrahebant. Vicit ergo Hannibalem non populus Romanus totiens caesus fugatusque sed senatus Carthaginiensis obtrectatione atque inuidia; neque hac deformitate reditus mei tam P. Scipio exsultabit atque efferet sese quam Hanno qui domum nostram quando alia re non potuit ruina Carthaginis oppressit.'

Iam hoc ipsum praesagiens animo praeparauerat ante naues. Itaque inutili militum turba praesidii specie in oppida Bruttii agri quae pauca metu magis 15 quam fide continebantur dismissa, quod roboris in exercitu erat in Africam transuexit, multis Italici generis, quia in Africam secuturos abnuentes concesserant in Iunonis Laciniae delubrum inuiolatum ad eam diem, in templo ipso foede interfectis. 20 quemquam alium patriam exsilii causa relinquentem tam maestum abisse ferunt quam Hannibalem hostium terra excedentem; respexisse saepe Italiae litora, et deos hominesque accusantem in se quoque ac suum ipsius caput exsecratum quod non cruentum 25 ab Cannensi uictoria militem Romam duxisset: Scipionem ire ad Carthaginem ausum qui consul hostem Poenum in Italia non uidisset: se, centum milibus armatorum ad Trasumennum ad Cannas

caesis, circa Casilinum Cumasque et Nolam consenuisse. Haec accusans querensque ex diutina 30 possessione Italiae est detractus.

XXX, 20

XII ANXIETY AT HOME

As both cities await the final conflict, the tension is no greater in Carthage than in Rome.

Inter haec simul spes simul cura in dies crescebat nec satis certum constare apud animos poterat utrum gaudio dignius esset Hannibalem post sextum decimum annum ex Italia decedentem uacuam possessionem eius reliquisse populo Romano, an magis 5 metuendum quod incolumi exercitu in Africam transisset: locum nimirum non periculum mutatum; cuius tantae dimicationis uatem qui nuper decessisset Q. Fabium haud frustra canere solitum grauiorem in sua terra futurum hostem Hannibalem quam in aliena 10 fuisset. nec Scipioni aut cum Syphace inconditae barbariae rege, cui Statorius semilixa ducere exercitus solitus sit, aut cum socero eius Hasdrubale fugacissimo duce rem futuram, aut (cum) tumultuariis exercitibus ex agrestium semermi turba subito conlectis, sed cum 15 Hannibale, prope nato in praetorio patris fortissimi ducis, alito atque educato inter arma, puero quondam milite, uixdum iuuene imperatore, qui senex uincendo factus Hispanias Gallias Italiam ab Alpibus ad fretum monumentis ingentium rerum complesset. ducere 20 exercitum aequalem stipendiis suis, duratum omnium rerum patientia quas uix fides fiat homines passos, perfusum miliens cruore Romano, exuuias non

militum tantum sed etiam imperatorum portantem. 25 multos occursuros Scipioni in acie qui praetores, qui imperatores, qui consules Romanos sua manu occidissent, muralibus uallaribusque insignes coronis, peruagatos capta castra captas urbes Romanas. non esse hodie tot fasces magistratibus populi Romani 30 quot captos ex caede imperatorum prae se ferre posset Hannibal.

Haud dispar habitus animorum Carthaginiensibus erat quos modo petisse pacem, intuentes Hannibalem ac rerum gestarum eius magnitudinem, paenitebat, 35 modo cum respicerent bis sese acie uictos, Syphacem captum, pulsos se Hispania, pulsos Italia, atque ea omnia unius uirtute et consilio Scipionis facta, uelut fatalem eum ducem in exitium suum natum horrebant.

from XXX, 28

XIII FACE TO FACE

Hannibal landed at Hadrumetum with 24,000 veterans, and was soon reinforced by 12,000 troops from the Carthaginian army which had been recalled from N. Italy; he was, however, weak in cavalry. Scipio, on the other hand, had lost a large part of a convoy of supplies and reinforcements in a storm, and Masinissa had taken his cavalry and some of the Roman infantry on an attempt to regain his old kingdom of Numidia. Thus the odds were in Hannibal's favour.

Scipio marched up the Bagradas valley with the object of cutting off Carthage from its source of supply and in order to make it easier for Masinissa to rejoin him. Hannibal needed time to rest his troops after their voyage, and did not reach Scipio until Masinissa had already returned. Faced,

therefore, by an army superior in cavalry, he made one last effort to secure peace and asked for a meeting with Scipio.

This personal encounter between the two most brilliant generals of their day is one of the most dramatic scenes of history.

(a)

Hannibal compares Scipio's present position with his own ten years ago, and reminds him of the instability of fortune.

Summotis pari spatio armatis, cum singulis interpretibus congressi sunt, non suae modo aetatis maximi duces sed omnis ante se memoriae omnium gentium cuilibet regum imperatorumue pares. Paulisper alter alterius conspectu, admiratione mutua prope 5 attoniti, conticuere; tum Hannibal prior.

'Quod ad me attinet, iam aetas senem in patriam reuertentem unde puer profectus sum, iam secundae, iam aduersae res ita erudierunt ut rationem segui quam fortunam malim: tuam et adulescentiam et 10 perpetuam felicitatem, ferociora utraque quam quietis opus est consiliis, metuo. Non temere incerta casuum reputat quem fortuna nunquam decepit. Quod ego fui ad Trasumennum, ad Cannas, id tu hodie es. Vixdum militari aetate imperio accepto omnia 15 audacissime incipientem nusquam fefellit fortuna. Patris et patrui persecutus mortem ex calamitate uestrae domus decus insigne uirtutis pietatisque eximiae cepisti; amissas Hispanias reciperasti quattuor inde Punicis exercitibus pulsis; consul creatus, 20 cum ceteris ad tutandam Italiam parum animi esset. transgressus in Africam duobus hic exercitibus caesis. binis eadem hora captis simul incensisque castris,

Syphace potentissimo rege capto, tot urbibus regni 25 eius, tot nostri imperii ereptis, me sextum decimum iam annum haerentem in possessione Italiae detraxisti. Potest uictoriam malle quam pacem animus. Noui spiritus magnos magis quam utiles; et mihi talis aliquando fortuna adfulsit.

Wt omnium obliuiscaris aliorum, satis ego documenti in omnes casus sum quem modo castris inter Anienem atque urbem uestram positis signa inferentem ac iam prope scandentem moenia Romana uideris, hic cernas duobus fratribus, fortissimis uiris, clarissimis imperatoribus orbatum ante moenia prope obsessae patriae quibus terrui uestram urbem ea pro mea deprecantem.'

(b)

Hannibal went on to suggest terms of peace. These Scipio rejects, and remains unmoved by Hannibal's impressive warnings about the fickleness of fortune. Hannibal's persuasive and eloquent rhetoric makes an effective contrast with Scipio's severely practical and unadorned reply.

'Quod ad me attinet, et humanae infirmitatis memini et uim fortunae reputo et omnia quaecumque agimus subiecta esse mille casibus scio; ceterum quemadmodum superbe et uiolenter me faterer facere si priusquam in Africam traiecissem te tua uoluntate cedentem Italia et imposito in naues exercitu ipsum uenientem ad pacem petendam aspernarer, sic nunc cum prope manu conserta restitantem ac tergiuersantem in Africam attraxerim nulla sum tibi uerecundia obstrictus. Proinde si quid ad ea in quae tum pax conuentura uidebatur, quasi multa nauium cum

commeatu per indutias expugnatarum legatorumque uiolatorum, adicitur, est quod referam ad consilium: sin illa quoque grauia uidentur, bellum parate quoniam pacem pati non potuistis.'

from XXX, 30, 31

XIV ZAMA

Few battles are more dramatic than Zama. For both sides everything was at stake, and each put into the field its finest troops under its ablest commander. Both Hannibal and Scipio had won their previous victories over inferior generals; who would emerge victorious from this conflict of the masters?

By comparing Polybius' account with Livy's we can see that the tactics on each side appear to be as follows. Scipio hoped that, when his superior cavalry had exposed the enemy's flanks, he could use his principes and triarii to outflank the Carthaginians, as he had done at Baecula, Ilipa and the Great Plains. Hannibal knew that he was weak in cavalry, and would not be able to employ them in his favourite manoeuvre of taking the enemy in the rear, as he had done at Cannae. Therefore he probably ordered his cavalry to pretend to flee, to draw the Roman horse away from the battle. Then his numerically superior infantry, supported by elephants, would attack the Romans in successive waves, while his third line of veterans, drawn up some distance behind the other two lines, would make it dangerous for Scipio to outflank him; if he tried, as Hannibal must have expected him to do, he would find that he was outflanking only the first two lines, while the third was intact and free to counter-attack. 202 B.C.

(a)

Both armies march out for the final struggle which will decide who shall rule the world.

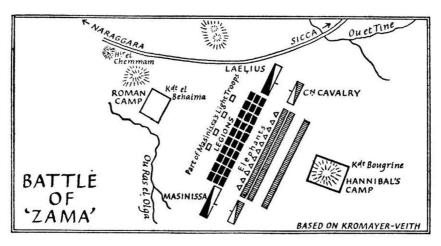
Ita infecta pace ex conloquio ad suos cum se recepissent, frustra uerba temptata renuntiant: armis decernendum esse habendamque eam fortunam quam di dedissent. In castra ut est uentum, pronuntiant 5 ambo arma expedirent milites animosque ad supremum certamen, non in unum diem sed in perpetuum, si felicitas adesset, uictores. Roma an Carthago iura gentibus daret ante crastinam noctem scituros; neque enim Africam aut Italiam sed orbem terrarum uictoriae praemium fore; par periculum praemio quibus aduersa pugnae fortuna fuisset. Nam neque Romanis effugium ullum patebat in aliena ignotaque terra, et Carthagini, supremo auxilio effuso, adesse uidebatur praesens excidium.

Ad hoc discrimen procedunt postero die duorum opulentissimorum populorum duo longe clarissimi duces, duo fortissimi exercitus, multa ante parta decora aut cumulaturi eo die aut euersuri. Anceps igitur spes et metus miscebant animos; contemplantibusque modo suam, modo hostium aciem, cum oculis magis quam ratione pensarent uires, simul laeta, simul tristia obuersabantur: quae ipsis sua sponte non succurrebant, ea duces admonendo atque hortando subiciebant. Poenus sedecim annorum in terra Italia res gestas, tot duces Romanos, tot exercitus occidione occisos et sua cuique decora ubi ad insignem alicuius pugnae memoria militem uenerat referebat: Scipio Hispanias et recentia in Africa proelia et confessionem hostium quod neque non

petere pacem propter metum neque manere in ea 30 prae insita animis perfidia potuissent. Adesse finem belli ac laboris; in manibus esse praedam Carthaginis, reditum domum in patriam ad parentes liberos coniuges penatesque deos. Celsus haec corpore uoltuque ita laeto ut uicisse iam crederes dicebat. 35

(b)

In drawing up their armies both generals make small but significant changes from their normal practice.



Instruit deinde primos hastatos, post eos principes; triariis postremam aciem clausit. Non confertas autem cohortes ante sua quamque signa instruebat sed manipulos aliquantum inter se distantes ut esset spatium qua elephanti hostium acti nihil ordines 5 turbarent. Laelium, cuius ante legati, eo anno quaestoris extra sortem ex senatus consulto opera utebatur, cum Italico equitatu ab sinistro cornu, Masinissam Numidasque ab dextro opposuit. Vias patentes inter manipulos antesignanorum uelitibus— 10

ea tunc leuis armatura erat—compleuit, dato praecepto ut ad impetum elephantorum aut post directos refugerent ordines aut in dextram laeuamque discursu applicantes se antesignanis uiam qua inruerent in 15 ancipitia tela beluis darent.

Hannibal ad terrorem primos elephantos—octoginta autem erant, quot nulla unquam in acie ante habuerat —instruxit, deinde auxilia Ligurum Gallorumque, Baliaribus Maurisque admixtis: in secunda acie Carthaginienses Afrosque et Macedonum legionem: modico deinde interuallo relicto subsidiariam aciem Italicorum militum—Bruttii plerique erant, ui ac necessitate plures quam sua uoluntate decedentem ex Italia secuti—instruxit. Equitatum et ipse cir-25 cumdedit cornibus; dextrum Carthaginienses, sinistrum Numidae tenuerunt.

(c)

Scipio's foresight turns the charge of Hannibal's elephants to his own advantage, his cavalry drives the Carthaginian horse from the field, and his infantry throws Hannibal's first two ranks into confusion.

Tum tubae cornuaque ab Romanis cecinerunt, tantusque clamor ortus ut elephanti in suos, sinistrum maxime cornu, uerterentur, Mauros ac Numidas. Addidit facile Masinissa perculsis terrorem nudauitque ab ea parte aciem equestri auxilio. Paucae tamen bestiarum intrepidae in hostem actae inter uelitum ordines cum multis suis uolneribus ingentem stragem edebant. Resilientes enim ad manipulos uelites cum uiam elephantis ne obtererentur fecissent, in ancipites

ad ictum utrimque coniciebant hastas, nec pila ab 10 antesignanis cessabant donec undique incidentibus telis exacti ex Romana acie hi quoque in suo dextro cornu ipsos Carthaginiensium equites in fugam uerterunt. Laelius, ut turbatos uidit hostes, addidit perculsis terrorem.

Vtrimque nudata equite erat Punica acies cum pedes concurrit, nec spe nec uiribus iam par. Pugna Romana stabilis et suo et armorum pondere incumbentium in hostem, concursatio et uelocitas illinc maior quam uis. Igitur primo impetu extemplo 20 mouere loco hostium aciem Romani. Ala deinde et umbonibus pulsantes in summotos gradu inlato aliquantum spatii uelut nullo resistente incessere, urgentibus et nouissimis primos ut semel motam aciem sensere, quod ipsum uim magnam ad pellendum 25 hostem addebat. Apud hostes auxiliares cedentes secunda acies, Afri et Carthaginienses, adeo non sustinebant ut contra etiam, ne resistentes pertinaciter primos caedendo ad se perueniret hostis, pedem referrent. Igitur auxiliares terga dant repente et 30 in suos uersi partim refugere in secundam aciem, partim non recipientes caedere, ut et paulo ante non adiuti et tunc exclusi; et prope duo iam permixta proelia erant, cum Carthaginienses simul cum hostibus simul cum suis cogerentur manus conserere. 35

(d)

Now it is Scipio's turn to be checked, and prevented from employing his outflanking tactics. However, he calmly reforms his army, and engages Hannibal until his cavalry returns and takes the Carthaginians in the rear.

Ceterum tanta strages hominum armorumque locum in quo steterant paulo ante auxiliares compleuerat ut prope difficilior transitus esset quam per confertos hostes fuerat. Itaque qui primi erant, 5 hastati, per cumulos corporum armorumque et tabem sanguinis qua quisque poterat sequentes hostem et signa et ordines confuderunt. Principum quoque signa fluctuari coeperant uagam ante se cernendo aciem. Quod Scipio ubi uidit receptui propere 10 canere hastatis iussit et sauciis in postremam aciem subductis principes triariosque in cornua inducit quo tutior firmiorque media hastatorum acies esset. Ita nouum de integro proelium ortum est; quippe ad ueros hostes peruentum erat, et armorum genere et 15 usu militiae et fama rerum gestarum et magnitudine uel spei uel periculi pares; sed et numero superior Romanus erat et animo quod iam equites, iam elephantos fuderat, iam prima acie pulsa in secundam pugnabat. In tempore Laelius ac Masinissa pulsos 20 per aliquantum spatii secuti equites, reuertentes in auersam hostium aciem incurrere. Is demum equitum impetus perculit hostem. Multi circumuenti in acie caesi, (multi) per patentem circa campum fuga sparsi tenente omnia equitatu passim interierunt. 25 Carthaginiensium sociorumque caesa eo die supra uiginti milia: par ferme numerus captus cum signis militaribus centum triginta duobus, elephantis undecim: uictores ad mille et quingenti cecidere.

(e)

Hannibal escapes to Carthage and urges the government to make peace.

Hannibal cum paucis equitibus inter tumultum elapsus Hadrumetum perfugit, omnia et ante aciem et in proelio priusquam excederet pugna expertus, et confessione etiam Scipionis omniumque peritorum militiae illam laudem adeptus singulari arte aciem 5 eo die instruxisse: elephantos in prima fronte quorum fortuitus impetus atque intolerabilis uis signa sequi et seruare ordines, in quo plurimum spei ponerent, Romanos prohiberent; deinde auxiliares ante Carthaginiensium aciem ne homines mixti ex conluuione 10 omnium gentium, quos non fides teneret sed merces, liberum receptum fugae haberent, simul primum ardorem atque impetum hostium excipientes fatigarent ac, si nihil aliud, uolneribus suis ferrum hostile hebetarent; tum, ubi omnis spes esset, milites Cartha- 15 ginienses Afrosque ut omnibus rebus aliis pares eo quod integri cum fessis ac sauciis pugnarent superiores essent; Italicos incertos socii an hostes essent in postremam aciem summotos, interuallo quoque diremptos. Hoc edito uelut ultimo uirtutis opere, 20 Hannibal cum Hadrumetum refugisset accitusque inde Carthaginem sexto ac tricensimo post anno quam puer inde profectus erat redisset, fassus in curia est non proelio modo se sed bello uictum, nec spem salutis alibi quam in pace impetranda esse.

from XXX, 31 - 35

XV IO TRIUMPHE!

Scipio returns to Rome and celebrates a magnificent triumph, 201 B.C. Cf. Plate VIII.

Pace terra marique parta, exercitu in naues imposito in Siciliam Lilybaeum traiecit. Inde magna

parte militum nauibus missa ipse per laetam pace non minus quam uictoria Italiam effusis non urbibus 5 modo ad habendos honores sed agrestium etiam turba obsidente uias Romam peruenit triumphoque omnium clarissimo urbem est inuectus. Argenti tulit in aerarium pondo centum uiginti tria milia. Militibus ex praeda quadringenos aeris diuisit. Morte sub-10 tractus spectaculo magis hominum quam triumphantis gloriae Syphax est, Tiburi haud ita multo ante mortuus, quo ab Alba traductus fuerat. Conspecta tamen mors eius fuit quia publico funere est elatus.— Hunc regem in triumpho ductum Polybius, haudspernendus auctor, tradit.—Secutus 15 quaquam Scipionem triumphantem est pilleo capiti imposito Q. Terentius Culleo, omnique deinde uita, ut dignum erat, libertatis auctorem coluit. Africani cognomen militaris prius fauor an popularis aura celebrauerit 20 an, sicuti Felicis Sullae Magnique Pompeii patrum memoria, coeptum ab adsentatione familiari sit parum compertum habeo; primus certe hic imperator nomine uictae ab se gentis est nobilitatus.

XXX, 45

EPILOGUE

After the triumph of Zama, Scipio, aged only 34, occupied a position of unique power and influence. A little over 100 years later the personal ambitions of other successful generals such as Sulla, Pompey and Caesar almost destroyed Rome, but Scipio was content to follow the old Roman tradition exemplified by Cincinnatus, and to resume the status of a private citizen when the state had no further need of his services. He was censor in 199, consul for the second time in

194, and was on his brother Lucius' staff during his campaign against King Antiochus of Pergamum (190–189). But his later years were marked by continual attacks, led by Cato, upon himself and his associates. When Scipio himself was accused of accepting a bribe from Antiochus, he made no defence but reminded the court that the day was the anniversary of Zama, and invited them to accompany him to the Capitol to return thanks to the gods for the victory. Everybody followed Scipio, and his accusers were left standing in an empty forum. Nevertheless he withdrew to Liternum, near Naples, where he died in 184, so embittered that he ordered his body to be buried there and not in Rome.

It was a sad end to a career which had begun so early and so gloriously, but the very qualities which gave Scipio his youthful success were responsible for his later eclipse. He was a most un-Roman Roman in his infectious enthusiasm, his complete confidence in himself (which his opponents called arrogance), his mysticism, and his interest in and support for Greek culture. In all these ways he offended the old conservatives, and especially Cato, to whom he seemed lacking in the supreme Roman virtues of gravitas and respect for the mos maiorum. So he stands apart from the general run of Roman leaders, like a brilliant comet which men gaze at during its brief career in awe and admiration until it passes from sight and is almost forgotten.

NOTES

I(a)

- 1. post cladem acceptam: 'after the occurrence of the disaster.' This use of the past participle where in English we would use an abstract noun is very common, e.g. ab urbe condita, 'from the foundation of Rome' and post receptam Capuam in line 4. The disaster referred to is the defeat of the Scipios.
- 4. Capuam: the richest city of Campania and Hannibal's base; it was recaptured by the Romans in 211 B.C., so that Hannibal was now confined to southern Italy and Rome was free to take the offensive in Spain.

Italiae, Hispaniae. Objective genitives with cura, 'anxiety for Italy'.

- 6. placebat: sc. senatui. 'The senate decided.' Placet is the usual word for reporting a decree of the senate.
- nec tam . . . satis constabat quam illud: 'There was general agreement not so much about . . . as on this point, that . . .': illud refers to the whole of the following sentence ubi . . . deligendum esse, and qui . . . succederet is the subject of deligendum esse.
 - 10. eo decursum est ut: 'they were reduced to'.
- 11. proconsuli creando. Dative of purpose, 'to elect a proconsul'. The Roman constitution provided for four magistrates with the power to command armies (imperium), two consuls and two praetors. As the Roman empire spread outside Italy, first to Sicily and then to Sardinia and Corsica, they found that they needed more magistrates with imperium to govern these provinces and defend them. So the practice began of prolonging the imperium of a consul or praetor for a further year, so that he could hold a command abroad; these magistrates were called proconsuls and propraetors. The senate usually made these appointments without elections, but in such a crisis and with no volunteers elections were the only solution.

- 15. redintegratus: sc. est. Livy often omits the parts of sum with the perfect indicative passive and the perfect infinitive passive.
- 19. **campum:** The Campus Martius, level ground beside the Tiber outside the walls of Rome, where elections, meetings and parades were held.
- 19-21. descendit, circumspectant, fremunt: Historic presents. The present indicative is often used to describe important or dramatic scenes, such as this meeting of the anxious people looking to their leaders, and the leaders looking at one another, and nobody making a move.
 - 21. perditas: sc. esse. Perfect infinitive passive.
- 28. felix faustumque: sc. futurum esse. An echo of the old Roman formula of prayer which preceded all official decisions, 'Quod bonum, faustum, felix, fortunatumque sit'.
- 30. **centuriae:** For voting at elections the Roman people had been organised, traditionally by the king Servius Tullius, into centuries. Each century returned one vote, decided by the majority of the votes of its members. Not only did all the centuries vote for Scipio, but each individual voter also supported him.
- 31. **Scipioni:** Possessive dative; 'that Scipio should have the command'.
- 37. funestis: 'in mourning'. This would make Scipio's appointment doubly ill-omened, and the Romans were very conscious of the significance of omens.
- 39. proficiscentis: with nomen: 'they were disturbed by the name of a man who was setting out'.

I(b)

- 7. ratio ex fiducia rerum: 'calculation based upon confidence in their situation'. Infectious confidence in his own abilities was one of Scipio's most marked characteristics.
 - 9. virtutibus: Ablative of cause with mirabilis: 'because

of his real qualities'. Begin a new English sentence after compositus, and translate agens as its main verb.

- 10. pleraque apud multitudinem . . . agens. 'And he had great influence with the common people.'
- 13. animi: Descriptive genitive with ipse; 'he himself was of a mind', 'he himself had a mind'. Sc. erat as main verb. Scipio himself does not seem to have shared Livy's scepticism, but genuinely to have believed that he was inspired; this belief was the foundation of his burning self-confidence which won him the devotion of his army.
 - 14. sorte oraculi: 'by the utterance of an oracle'.
 - 16. ex quo: 'from the time when'.

togam virilem: At the age of 14 a Roman boy changed his toga praetexta, which had a purple border, for the plain white toga of manhood.

- 18. Capitolium: i.e. the temple of Juppiter Optimus Maximus which crowned one of the two summits of the Capitol; on the other was the arx. Scipio's practice of private prayer would have attracted less notice later, in the Christian era, than it did at Rome, where religion was concerned to preserve the pax deorum, good relations between gods and men, by performing the correct rituals, rather than with personal communion with the gods.
- iret, consideret, tereret: These subjunctives indicate that Scipio did this repeatedly.
- 22. **stirpis:** Descriptive genitive with virum. 'A man of divine descent.'
- 23. et vanitate et fabula parem: 'equal to it in its emptiness and frequency' i.e. 'equally foolish and well-known'. Scipio invited comparison with Alexander because of his youth, his attractive personality, his military skill, and his sense of inspiration.
- 24. **conceptum:** This (and **visam**, **evolutam** and **elapsam**) is infinitive of indirect statement after **famam**. Scipio is the subject of *conceptum*.

- 29. abnuendi, adfirmandi: With arte: 'skill in neither denying nor confirming'.
 - 32. excesserant modum: 'had gone beyond the limits'.

aetati haudquaquam maturae: 'one who had by no means reached a suitable age'.

II(a)

- 2. C. Laelium: Laelius was Scipio's Chief-of-Staff throughout his Spanish and African campaigns. Speed and surprise were essential for success.
- 5. septimo die: By forced marches and by concealing his intentions from the enemy Scipio had reached New Carthage three days or more before the nearest Carthaginian army could come to its help.

Livy here reveals his limitations as a military historian; he makes Scipio's army march at the impossible rate of 43 miles per day. Caesar, even though he was in a hurry to catch Pompey and promised his men large rewards. needed 16 days, at least one of which was a rest day, to cover the 289 miles from Corfinium to Brundisium, an average day's march of about 19 miles. Scipio's average could have been higher, since he kept it up for a shorter time, but the distance from the Ebro to New Carthage is about 300 miles, which he could not have covered in the time. Perhaps Livy is giving Scipio's time for his final dash for New Carthage from an advanced base such as Valencia. The distance between the two towns is about 160 miles, and as there is a good route from Valencia to Madrid, where Hasdrubal's army was, the Carthaginians may well have thought that Scipio was marching against Hasdrubal until it was too late.

- 14. conari: Indirect statement, what Scipio said to his captains. Hostem is the subject.
 - 15. quod . . . orsus esset: 'Inasmuch as he had begun'.
- 19. Scipio's speech. Livy does not claim to quote the actual words used by the men whose speeches he reports. The speeches are his own composition, but the ideas are

those that might reasonably have been in the minds of the speakers. Here he explains Scipio's strategy; notice Scipio's understanding of the economic and political aspects of war, as well as of purely military matters.

- 21. rationem exactam habet: 'has made an accurate calculation'.
 - 24. simul: For simul atque, 'as soon as'.
- 33. **portu egregio:** 'an outstanding harbour'. Ablative of cause, explaining **opportunissima**.

II(b)

- 2. ipse: Mago, the Carthaginian commander.
- 10. subsidiis . . . summittendis. Dative of purpose, explaining propiores. Scipio expected a sortie and was prepared to deal with it.
- 14. receptui cecinisset: Sc. signum as object. 'Unless he had given the signal to retreat'.
- 18. qua cuique erat proximum: 'by what way was nearest to each man'. i.e. 'each man taking the nearest path'.
 - 20. Mercuri: Possessive genitive, explaining tumulum.
- 25. 'In modern war no feature has told more heavily against decisive results than the absence of the commander's personal observation and control.' Capt. Liddell Hart.
- 26. quodque . . . intererat: Quod is the relative pronoun, and refers to the clause which follows, testis . . . adest, which should be translated first.

II(c)

- 5. quo... altiores, eo infirmiores: 'by what they were higher, by that they were weaker'. i.e. 'the higher each was, the weaker it became'.
 - 14. obsessis. Dative, indirect object of dedit.

- 15. opera: 'siege works'. Time was on the side of the defenders.
 - 16. datura: sc. esse.
- 22. piscatores Tarraconenses: 'fishermen of Tarraco'. Tarraco (Tarragona) was Scipio's base north of the Ebro. His success was due in no small degree to good intelligence and careful planning during the previous winter.
- 23. **compertum habebat:** A common method of forming a pluperfect: 'he had found out'.
- 25. medium ferme diei: Polybius (cf. Introduction III) says it was late in the day, and an off-shore (i.e. north) wind might be expected to spring up in the evening. 'There are no tides in Cartagena harbour but with winds from south to south-west the level rises from one to one-and-a-half feet, and north to north-east winds have a contrary effect.' The Mediterranean Pilot.
 - 26. ad id quod: 'in addition to the fact that'.
- 31. in prodigium ac deos: 'referring it to a sign from the gods.'
- 32-34. qui . . . verterent, auferrent, aperirent. Causal subjunctives. 'Inasmuch as they were turning . . .'

$\Pi(d)$

- 6. ante . . . quam: 'before.' Antequam, priusquam, post-quam are often divided in this way.
- 15. iusta acies: 'regular formation'. Scipio kept control of his army and so was able to exploit his success and complete the capture of the city before the enemy could rally.
- 26. caedes: This was the regular fate of many of the inhabitants of a captured town, and is no harder to justify than the bombing of cities. Notice again Scipio's control over his troops, so that the slaughter was stopped as soon as possible, and nobody scattered in search of booty while there was still fighting to be done.

II (e)

- 1. virile secus: Accusative of respect, explaining capitum 'of the male sex'.
- 4. opifices: 'craftsmen'. Important because of their skill in making weapons; now Scipio was no longer dependent on supplies from Rome.
- 7. navassent: For navavissent; this contraction of the perfect stem is common with first conjugation verbs, e.g. amasse for amavisse.

ceteram multitudinem: Only those who had nothing else to offer were condemned to the fleet.

- 13. catapultae: Cf. Introduction II.
- 20. pondo: Ablative of description: 'by weight'.
- 21. decem et octo milia et trecenta pondo: Pounds weight.
- 23. **quaestori:** Dative of the agent, instead of the more usual ablative. The quaestor was the most junior of the Roman magistrates, and his duties were chiefly financial. When attached to an army in the field he was responsible for paying the troops and selling the booty; the proceeds were shared among the soldiers.
- 28. sparto: Esparto grass, grown in Spain and used for making ropes.
- 29. minimum: Refers to Carthago, so that we might have expected minima, but it is not an adjective but a neuter noun, 'the least thing'.

III

- 2. exercendis copiis: Ablative of manner: 'in training his troops'.
 - 3. in armis: 'in full armour'.
- 4. tergere: 'clean'. All disciplined armies have believed in spit and polish.

- 5. rudibus: 'wooden weapons'. These were regularly used by soldiers and gladiators for practice, and a gladiator was given one if he was honourably discharged.
- 6. praepilatis: 'with a button on the point', like the foils used by fencers to-day. For Roman tactics cf. Introduction II.
 - 10. remigium: 'The rowers'. Collective noun.

classicique milites: 'marines'. Roman naval tactics favoured grappling and boarding enemy vessels, and so each ship carried a complement of marines.

IV(a)

- 7. animorum: Partitive genitive with quid: 'what was the spirit'. Livy prefers this form of expression to the more straightforward qui animi. So in IV (b) line 12 aliquid loci instead of aliquem locum.
- 8. portis: Dative of motion, common in verse and frequently used by Livy, though not by Cicero or Caesar.
- 11. plano campo: Ablative of manner, with patentem: 'in a level plateau'.
 - 14. summissa fastigio: 'below the summit'.
- 22. fiducia: Ablative of cause, 'Because of their confidence in their position. . .'. loci and virtutis armorumque are objective genitives with fiducia.
 - 26. ad id: 'In addition to this'.

fore altitudines: 'the heights would be for the enemy so that . . .', i.e. 'the enemy would find that by occupying the heights they would be escaping . . .'.

31. per tumuli obliqua: 'past the slopes of the hill'.

IV(b)

1. expeditos: 'light-armed troops'. Scipio did not employ the legions in this frontal attack.

- 7. ingerere: Historic infinitive; translate as a past indicative.
 - 12. loci: cf. animorum, IV (a) line 7.
- 13. levem . . . loco: 'they drove the enemy from their position—light-armed skirmishers who kept at a safe distance and avoided battle by throwing missiles at long range, but did not stand their ground to fight it out at close quarters'.
- 18. ceteras copias: the legions. Polybius says that Scipio took the right flank.
- 27. mediis: the light-armed troops in the centre of the Roman line.
- 29. evasissent: Conditional. 'They would never have climbed up.'
 - 31. nuda latera: the side not protected by their shields.

V(a)

- 1. levia certamina. The Carthaginian cavalry had tried to disorganise the Romans while they were pitching camp.
- 2. Hasdrubal: son of Gisgo, and not Hasdrubal Barca, whom Scipio had defeated at Baecula.
- 11. socii. Both sides employed Spaniards, but they were not reliable, and Scipio's father and uncle had been defeated because their Spanish allies suddenly deserted. Like Wellington 2,000 years later Scipio used his allies largely to impress the enemy, while leaving the real fighting to his own troops. The positions of the Roman legions and their Spanish allies played a vital part in this battle.
- 17. concursuros: Grammatically the subject is acies, but the masculine is used because acies is explained by the masculines Romanum Poenumque. These are used as collective nouns in the singular, as we speak of the English, or the French.

- 20. tesseram: Originally the tablet on which a password or order was written, and so the order itself.
 - 22. eques: 'the cavalry'. Collective noun.

V(b)

- 13. iam diu: Scipio appears to have prolonged the indecisive cavalry engagement so that the Carthaginians should feel the effects of having had no breakfast.
- 14. pulsis: Dative of advantage with receptus. What is receptus?
- 17. patefactis ordinibus: It is a mark of the training and confidence of Scipio's army that they could open and close their ranks in the face of the enemy.
- 21. **presso gradu:** 'at a slow pace'. The inferior Spanish troops were to tie down the flower of the Carthaginian army without ever coming into contact with them!
- 30. sequentibus in obliquum aliis. The Roman infantry moved out to the flanks in column, then wheeled inwards into line against the Spaniards on the Carthaginian wings, while the cavalry and velites took them on the flank and in the rear. (See plan.)

V(c)

- 1. roboris: Partitive genitive with quod. The clause quod...erat, explained by Poeni veterani Afrique, is the subject of convenissent. The verb is in the plural because of the plurals Poeni Afrique.
- 13. **oppressos** . . . **coactosque**: Strictly these participles should be singular, agreeing with **exercitum**; they describe the men in Hasdrubal's army.
- 16. septima hora: The Roman day began at sunrise and ended at sunset, and was divided into 12 hours. The main battle, therefore, did not begin until about 2 p.m.

V(d)

- I. eo ipso: 'for that very reason'.
- 8. signa: The Roman soldier was trained to follow the movements of his standard, and therefore Latin writers

often describe the actions of the army by referring to the standards, as Livy does here. Hence phrases like signa conferre (to attack), signa vertere (to wheel), etc.

- 17. religio...quicquam conandi: a religious fear of attempting anything'.
- 24. praesidii: Partitive genitive with parum: 'too little protection'.
- 25. **fuga:** This is the subject of videretur, so that you would expect to find it inside the *ut*-clause. Why has Livy taken it out of its clause?

VI

- 2. **centuriavit:** 'organised in centuries'. Livy is using the military language of his own day; in Scipio's time the chief subdivision of the legion was the maniple, consisting of two centuries.
 - 19. cum bona venia: 'without prejudice'.
- 29. excusare, accipere. Historic infinitives; translate as main verbs.
- 34. Their weakness in cavalry was always a problem to the Romans, who relied largely upon their allies to supply this arm, and it was never more serious than against Hannibal, who was able to use his superiority to rout the Roman cavalry and take their infantry in the rear. Scipio knew that if he was to face Hannibal he must be able to rely on his mounted troops.

VII (a)

6. ex Cannensi exercitu: In order to suppress any thoughts of making peace with Hannibal after his overwhelming victory at Cannae, the senate not only refused to negotiate the ransom of the Romans who were taken prisoner in the battle, but sentenced the survivors to military service in exile in Sicily. These two legions of disgraced soldiers, whose loss would cause no great regret, were the only forces that the senate provided for the invasion of Africa.

- 12. **urbibus oppugnandis.** Especially the siege of Syracuse, where the Romans were held at bay for two years by the genius of Archimedes, whose engineering skill was pressed into service and produced formidable artillery.
- 19. Latini nominis: The Latins lived on the plain S. of Rome, and from early times enjoyed a more privileged relationship with Rome than the other allies. As Rome conquered Italy, she settled at strategic points groups of Romans and Latins in self-governing Latin colonies enjoying the same privileges.
- 21. quantum militum. Partitive genitive. The numbers Livy gives for the Cannine legions suggest that the second of these three estimates is the most likely. Even the largest force would have been small for the great task ahead.
 - 28. ut . . . ita: 'although . . . however'.

VII(b)

- 6. cocta: These were provisions for the voyage, as it would be dangerous to light fires for cooking on board ship. Scipio was very careful to see to it that his first moves in Africa would not be dictated by the need to find food and water.
- 12. frumentum: Cereals formed the staple diet of the ancient world (as they do of underdeveloped countries to-day); meat was eaten only on special occasions, such as after a sacrifice. The Roman legions marched and fought on porridge.
- 15. Inter-service rivalry is clearly no new thing, and in Scipio's force it would have been sharpened by the fact that the soldiers, who were mostly Roman citizens or Latins, would tend to look down on the sailors, who were drawn from the allied states.
- 17. rostratis: 'equipped with rams', i.e. warships. The technique of Roman naval warfare was either to disable the enemy ship by ramming or to grapple and board.
 - 23. Emporia: This cannot have been Scipio's objective;

he made no effort to reach it, and if he had gone there, the Carthaginian fleet would have cut him off from his base in Sicily. H. H. Scullard suggests that Scipio deliberately named Emporia as his destination in order to deceive the enemy.

24. eoque: 'and for that reason'.

VII (c)

- 3. vix: modifies vitarent.
- 11. bono: Dative of advantage: 'for the good of the state'.

VIII (a)

- 3. **coniuncta classi:** The fortifications of the camp also protected the ships, which were drawn up on the shore within them.
- 13. aestiva. Accusative of exclamation: 'Cavalry quartered in houses in the summer!'
- 14. eo minus . . . quo segnius: Invert the order of the two clauses and translate 'the more sluggishly . . . the less . . .'.
- 19. cederet: Indirect command, part of Scipio's orders to Masinissa.
- 21. temporis: Partitive genitive with satis: 'enough time'.

praegresso: Dative of advantage with satis: 'for the man who had gone ahead'.

VIII (b)

1. ex composito: 'according to plan'.

terrentis, timentis: Genitives with modo: 'in the manner of one who . . .'.

3. hosti: Dative of advantage: 'among the enemy'.

- 5. dux: i.e. Hanno.
- 16. Hannoni Afrisque: Datives of disadvantage with circumfudere: 'they swarmed round Hanno'.
- 21-22. Translate in this order: victores secuti ceteros praecipue territos caede ducis effuse fugientes.

IX (a)

3. textis, tectis: sc. hibernaculis.

pars maxima: In apposition to Numidae.

- 4. ut...locis. 'As happens in a position occupied without orders.' The Carthaginians' indiscipline gave Scipio his opportunity.
- 8. quos mitteret: Subjunctive of indefinite frequency: 'whom he sent from time to time'.
- 9. **primos ordines:** 'senior centurions'. The *primi ordines* were the six centurions of the first cohort of each legion. A centurion was promoted from cohort to cohort until he reached the first; the senior centurion of the first cohort, and therefore of the whole legion, was called *primus pilus* (or *primipilus*). See Plate V.

spectatae virtutis atque prudentiae: Descriptive genitives with ordines.

- 10. qui: the subject of specularentur (line 15).
- 11. alius alia: 'in different directions'. Alia is an adverb.
- 13. haberent: sc. castra as object.
- 14. intervalli. Partitive genitive. Polybius says that the distance was just over a mile.
 - 16. nocte an: i.e. utrum nocte an. Indirect question.
 - 17. insidianti: Dative of advantage with opportuniores. alii atque alii: 'more and more'.
- 18. quo essent: Purpose clause. With a comparative (pluribus) the Romans regularly wrote quo instead of ut.

- 20. his praeparatis: Failing to win over Syphax, Scipio broke off the negotiations, launched his fleet, and sent a small force to Utica as though he was about to renew the siege.
- 21. iussis: Ablative absolute, agreeing with both exploratoribus and Masinissa.
 - 23. in proximam noctem: 'for the following night'. tribunis: cf. Introduction II.
- 24. **praetorio:** *Praetorium* usually means headquarters, but here it is the council of war at headquarters.
- 27. **primam vigiliam.** The night was divided into four watches, whose length varied according to the time of year.

IX(b)

- 1. morata est: Transitive, sc. eum: 'did not keep him waiting'.
- 2. proxima quaeque et deinceps continua amplexus: 'it seized the neighbouring buildings and then spread to all the huts one after the other'.
 - 8. Numidas: In apposition to hostes.
- 18. confusis: Dative of disadvantage with adimebat. Translate in this order: clamor adimebat sensum veri confusis sublatus esset ('from them as they were uncertain whether it arose'. Sublatus esset is indirect question after confusis) inter caedem et volnera an ex trepidatione nocturna.
 - 19. pro se quisque: 'every man for himself'.

 ut quibus suspectum: 'like men who suspected'.
- 21. restinguendo igni: Dative of purpose: 'which would be useful for putting out the fire'.
- 23. praeterquam hostili odio: Literally, 'besides through hatred of the enemy, also in order that'.
 - 24. ut in tali tumultu: 'as happens amid such confusion'.
 - 30. quos: = ei quos; ei is the subject of absumpti.

X

- 1. debellato: Impersonal ablative absolute: 'the war was over'.
- quod . . . attineret: 'as far as Syphax and the Carthaginians were concerned'.
- 3. machinas: i.e. catapults, battering rams, and movable towers on which the beseigers could be brought up to the walls at the same height as the defenders.
 - 9. subjectos ei tumulo: 'lying below that hill'.
 - 13. dictu. Supine with dignum: 'worth mentioning'.
- 15. This was the normal Roman formation, and under any other general the *principes* would have advanced and taken the place of the *hastati* if their help was needed, while the *triarii* remained in reserve. But Scipio used his second and third lines in his own way, as we shall see in line 31 below (see note to line 31 and Introduction II).
- 19. Celtiberos: 4,000 mercenaries from Spain formed the hard core of Hasdrubal's army.
- 25. miles: Collective singular, as often. 'Troops.' Scipio's decision to attack at once was fully justified.

super cetera: 'apart from anything else'.

victoria: Ablative of cause with terribilem.

- 30. oppugnatum: Supine expressing purpose: 'to attack.'
- 31. circumfusis undique hostibus: Livy, not being interested in the details of military tactics, does not explain what Polybius makes clear, that once Hasdrubal's cavalry had been routed, the principes and triarii did not support the hastati in the usual way, but turned outwards and marched out to the flanks to encircle the Celtiberians. It was a repetition of Ilipa.
 - 33. temporis: Partitive genitive with aliquantum.

XI

- 2. legatorum verba: i.e. the instructions to return to Carthage. Hannibal is the subject.
- 5. **retrahebant:** The Romans used the present and imperfect with *iam pridem* in the same way as the French do with *depuis*. *Iam pridem rogo* 'I have long been asking (and still am asking)', *iam pridem rogabam* 'I had long been asking'.
- 9. Hanno: Not the cavalry commander of VIII, but the leader of the peace party at Carthage, and throughout opposed to the war, which was carried on chiefly by members of one family, Barca, with very little support from the Carthaginian senate.
 - 13. praesidii specie: 'as though for garrison duty'.
 - 14. quae pauca: 'a few of which'.
- 19. interfectis: Probably a libel. Hannibal frightened the Romans so deeply that no crime was too vile to be ascribed to him. Cf. the contemporary description of Napoleon as 'The Corsican Ogre'.
- 23. in se exsecratum: Perfect infinitive: 'he cursed himself and his own life'.
- 25. Romam: Maharbal, Hannibal's cavalry commander, did indeed urge a march on Rome immediately after Cannae, promising that 'in five days we shall dine on the Capitol'. Most military critics believe that Hannibal was right to refuse, because he had no siege-train, without which he could not have stormed Rome. These words are moving rhetoric, but it must be considered unlikely that Hannibal in fact uttered them.
- 29. Casilinum, Cumasque et Nolam consenuisse: After Cannae the Romans wore Hannibal down, refusing battle and laying siege to the towns he had captured, while Hannibal himself could not break out because no reinforcements reached him. These are three cities of the rich district of Campania.

XII

9. **Q. Fabius** Maximus Cunctator had led the conservative opposition to Scipio's plan to invade Africa. The Romans now remembered his warnings, which earlier they had been quite ready to ignore.

canere: 'to foretell'. The oracles given by prophets were often delivered in verse. Fabius is the subject of solitum (esse) and Hannibal of futurum (esse).

- Scipioni aut cum Syphace . . . aut cum socero . . . aut cum tumultuariis exercitibus . . . sed cum Hannibale.
 - 12. barbariae: Collective noun, = barbarorum.

Statorius semilixa: Statorius was a centurion who had been sent on an embassy to Syphax and had stayed to train his army on Roman lines. Semilixa means 'half a camp-follower', i.e. only half a soldier, little better than a civilian.

- 13. socero eius Hasdrubale. Syphax had been won over to the Carthaginian side by his marriage to Hasdrubal's daughter Sophonisba.
- 18. senex: Hannibal was no more than 44. The whole passage is a fine example of highly effective rhetorical exaggeration, e.g. Hannibal did not go to his father's headquarters until he was 9. It rises in an ascending scale: nato...alito atque educato...puero...iuvene... senex.
- 19. ad fretum: The Straits of Messina, between Italy and Sicily.
 - 20. ducere: Hannibal is the subject.
- 21. aequalem stipendiis suis: 'which had served in all his campaigns'. Stipendium, literally 'pay', came to mean the year of service for which the soldier drew pay.
- 22. quas vix fides . . . passos: 'which it can scarcely be believed that men had endured'.

- 24. imperatorum: Three consuls had been killed in battle, Flaminius at Trasimene, Aemilius Paullus at Cannae, Marcellus in a skirmish, and two proconsuls also in the fighting in S. Italy.
- 27. muralibus, vallaribus coronis: Roman soldiers were rewarded for valour in scaling the walls of a city or the palisade of a camp with gold crowns representing the wall or palisade. Cf. Plate V for Roman military decorations.
- 29. fasces: The bundle of rods and an axe which was carried by the lictors before magistrates who possessed imperium, to symbolise their powers of punishment. A praetor had two lictors, a consul twelve, a dictator twenty-four. Livy's imaginative picture of Hannibal's personal collection of the insignia of the generals he defeated is very striking.
- 37. **velut** . . . **horrebant:** Translate in this order: horrebant eum velut fatalem ducem, etc. Why did Livy not put fatalem in its natural position next to ducem?

XIII (a)

- 1. armatis: the generals' escorts.
- 3. sed omnis ante se: Translate in this order: sed pares cuilibet regum imperatorumve omnis ante se memoriae omnium gentium.
- 7. Hannibal's speech. Hannibal was an expert at psychological warfare, and so it would be a mistake to take his speech at its face value. He praises Scipio and his achievements very generously. What is he trying to do? Is he hoping to flatter Scipio into accepting his proposals for peace? Or is he warning him that he would do better to keep what he has already won, rather than to stake everything on a final gamble in which the winner takes all?
- 11. utraque: Neuter plural, in apposition to adulescentiam and felicitatem.

12. **consiliis:** Dative of advantage with **opus est:** 'than is necessary for quiet deliberation'.

incerta casuum: 'the uncertainty of fortune'. This is a subtle attempt to undermine Scipio's confidence. How long will his unbroken run of success last?

- 13. quem: i.e. is quem. Is is the subject of reputat.
- 19. quattuor Punicis exercitibus: The armies under Hasdrubal Barca at Baecula, Hanno in Central Spain, and Hasdrubal Gisgo and Mago at Ilipa.
- 27. victoriam malle quam pacem: This was the mistake made in 1919 at the framing of the Treaty of Versailles. Hitler gained considerable support by playing upon the Germans' resentment of its harsh terms.
 - 30. ut: 'although'.
- 31-34. quem modo . . . videris, hic cernas. Causal subjunctives: 'inasmuch as you lately saw me . . ., and here you see me'.
- 34. duobus fratribus: Hasdrubal Barca, killed at the Metaurus in 207, and Mago, who died in 203 of wounds received in N. Italy. Hannibal first learnt of Hasdrubal's death when his brother's head was catapulted into his camp. Is he asking for sympathy? Or is he delivering an impressive reminder, all the more effective for being unspoken, that Scipio is about to face a general of an entirely different class from any he has met before? 'Hannibal ad portas!' was the threat used by generations of Roman mothers to quieten their unruly children, and it is not difficult to imagine the daunting effect of Hannibal's name upon the morale of Scipio and his troops.
- 36. quibus: The antecedent is ea. Translate in this order: deprecantem pro mea ea quibus terrui vestram urbem.

XIII (b)

8. restitantem ac tergiversantem: 'in spite of your reluctance and evasion'. Tergiversor is used particularly of a shifty defendant in a law-suit who tries every trick in order to avoid being brought to trial.

- 9. verecundia obstrictus: 'I am not bound to treat you with any respect'.
 - 10. ad ea in quae: 'to the terms on which'.
- 11. quasi multa navium: 'for example, a fine for the ships'. A truce had been made after the battle of the Great Plains, but when some Roman supply ships had been driven ashore near Carthage their cargoes were too great a temptation to the hungry inhabitants, who swarmed out and plundered them. When Hannibal had returned the war-party at Carthage organised an attack upon some Roman ambassadors, in order to renew the struggle.

XIV(a)

- 5. expedirent: Indirect command after pronuntiant, with ut omitted.
 - 7. victores: sc. futuri.
- 10. praemio: Dative after par; quibus (i.e. eis quibus) is possessive dative with fuisset.
 - 19. miscebant animos: 'alternated in their minds'.
- contemplantibus: follows simul laeta simul tristia obversabantur.
 - 26. sua cuique decora: 'each man's individual exploits'.
- 28. **Scipio:** The verb is *referebat*, understood from the previous sentence.

Hispanias: In 197 B.c. Spain was divided into two provinces, Citerior and Ulterior, and thus the Romans usually refer to the country in the plural.

- 29. confessionem: 'confession of weakness'.
- 31. **perfidia:** Punica fides was proverbial at Rome; they had to explain their frequent defeats by the Carthaginians somehow.
 - 34. celsus corpore: 'with head erect'.

XIV(b)

1. instruit: Scipio is the subject.

hastatos: Livy's description is not clear, but Polybius explains that instead of adopting the usual formation, in which the *principes* covered the gaps in the line of *hastati* cf. Introduction II, Scipio placed the maniples of the three lines directly behind one another.

 	 •	Hastati
 	 , 	Principes
 -	 	Triarii

- 3. cohortes: Again Livy uses the terms of his own time. Cf. note on VI, line 2.
- 6. cuius ante legati: Translate in this order: cuiusopera utebatur ante legati, eo anno quaestoris extra sortem (quaestor
 extraordinary). Quaestors were usually selected for their
 posts by lot (sors), but Laelius was specially chosen to help
 Scipio.
- 10. antesignanorum: Here this means the hastati, who were drawn up in front of the standards.

velitibus: Marius about 100 years later abolished the *velites*, so that Livy feels it necessary to explain the term to his readers.

- 12. post directos ordines: 'behind the units drawn up in line'. The velites were either to run down the lanes between the maniples to the rear of the army, or to move aside to left and right between the hastati (antesignani) and principes, leaving the lanes clear for the elephants to pass through.
- 15. in ancipitia tela: 'exposed to weapons thrown from both sides'.
- 18. auxilia: The Ligures came from N.W. Italy around Genoa, the Gauls from the Po valley, the Baleares—their

weapon was the sling—from the Balearic Islands, the best known of which are Majorca and Minorca.

- 20. Macedonum legionem: Hannibal did make an alliance after Cannae with Philip V of Macedon, but Philip began to think he had backed the wrong horse and made peace with Rome in 205 B.C. Therefore it is unlikely that there were any Macedonian troops at Zama; Livy may have got this statement from a Roman writer anxious to justify Rome's later hostility to Philip.
- 21. intervallo: i.e. A larger gap than usual. This interval formed a vital part of Hannibal's plan.
- 22. Italicorum: A serious mistake by Livy—these were the veterans of Hannibal's Italian army, his best troops, held in reserve like Napoleon's Old Guard at Waterloo.

XIV (c)

- 5. equestri auxilio: Ablative of separation after nudavit. Cf. the introduction to this chapter for the Carthaginian cavalry's part in the battle.
- 7. cum multis suis volneribus: 'together with many wounds to themselves'. For a picture of an elephant see Plate VI(a).
 - 9. ancipites ad ictum: 'exposed to fire from both flanks'.
- 17. nec spe nec viribus: If Livy means that the Carthaginians were now outnumbered, he is probably wrong. But he represents the Romans as more easily victorious than Polybius suggests.
 - 18. pondere: Ablative of cause, explaining stabilis.

incumbentium: 'as they pressed upon'. Genitive agreeing with *Romanorum*, which is easily understood from Romana.

- 19. illine: 'on the Carthaginian side'.
- 22. in summotos gradu inlato: 'advancing as they pushed

- them back'. Translate the main sentence (aliquantum . . . incessere) first, and then the participles.
 - 24. novissimis: i.e. the principes and triarii.
 - 25. quod ipsum: 'a fact which, in itself'.
- 26. cedentes . . . adeo non sustinebant ut: 'they were so far from supporting them as they gave ground that'.
- 28. resistentes . . . primos: 'those of the first line who resisted'.
 - 31. refugere, caedere: Historic infinitives.
- 32. **non recipientes:** 'those who would not let them in'. What case?

ut: 'on the grounds that'.

XIV(d)

- 5. tabem sanguinis: 'pools of blood'.
- 7. principum: The bravery of the Carthaginian troops of Hannibal's second line had forced Scipio to send his principes to the support of the hastati, so that they were not available for outflanking.
- 10. **hastatis:** Dative of advantage: 'for the *hastati*'. Scipio was in an awkward situation, being suddenly faced by Hannibal's Old Guard when two of his ranks were in some disorder.
 - 11. quo . . . esset: Purpose clause.
- 18. **secundam:** Really the third. Livy, because of his mistaken view of Hannibal's third line, supposes that the Carthaginians and not Hannibal's veterans from Italy were the *veros hostes*. All the forces on both sides were now engaged in a fight to the finish.
- 19. in tempore: 'at the right time'. Polybius makes it clear that until the cavalry's return the issue was very much in doubt.

XIV(e)

- 6. instruxisse: Indirect statement after illam laudem.
- elephantos: Accusative in apposition to aciem. Similarly auxiliares etc. down to Italicos.
- 10. ne...haberent: The negative applies only to haberent, and not to the other verbs of this purpose clause (fatigarent, hebetarent).
 - 16. eo quod. 'From the fact that'.
- 18. socii an hostes essent: Indirect question after incertos. Livy repeats his false idea of Hannibal's third line.
- 22. sexto ac tricensimo: Hannibal had left Carthage for Spain with his father, Hamilton, in 237 B.C., aged nine. This was hardly the homecoming to which he had looked forward.

XV

6. **triumpho:** Triumphs were governed by strict rules. They were granted by the senate, and were often refused— Cicero asked for one in vain; one cannot really picture him as a conquering hero. The general had to have commanded in person on the day of victory; the battle had to be a major one against foreign enemies and not in a civil war. The triumph itself was a procession along the Via Sacra through the Forum to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. The procession was composed of the magistrates and senate, spoils of the enemy, white oxen for sacrifice, the principal prisoners in chains, the lictors, the triumphator in a four-horse chariot wearing a special embroidered robe (toga picta) and a laurel crown, and with his face painted red. With him rode his children, and a slave who whispered 'Hominem te memento' to ward off the jealousy of the gods. For the same reason the army, who marched behind the chariot, used to sing the rudest songs they could think of about their general. 'Io triumphe!' was the cheer which greeted the triumphator. (See Plate VIII).

- 9. quadringenos: sc. asses. The bronze as was originally 1 lb. in weight, but by 209 B.C. it had been reduced to 4 oz., and soon dropped out as the unit of currency, being replaced by the silver denarius, and the sestertius, a quarter of the denarius. Our own copper coinage is suffering a similar decline.
 - 10. spectaculo, gloriae: Datives after subtractus.
 - 12. conspecta: 'attracted people's notice'.
- 16. pilleo: The cap of liberty worn by newly-freed slaves. Culleo had been taken prisoner by the Carthaginians.
- 18. **cognomen:** Every Roman had the name of his gens (nomen), his personal name (praenomen), and his family name (cognomen) which indicated which branch of his gens he belonged to, e.g. Publius (praenomen) Cornelius (nomen) Scipio (cognomen). After the cognomen other names, often called agnomina, could be added.
- 20. Sullae: Sulla adopted the name Felix, which his followers had been using of him for some time, when his troops defeated Marius' adopted son, the last of his opponents.

Pompeii: Pompey was greeted as Magnus by Sulla after his defeat of the Marian forces in Sicily and Africa.

22. parum compertum habeo: 'I have not been able to discover'.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Afri, -orum (m.): Africans. Africa, -ae (f.): Africa.

Africanus, -i: Conqueror of Africa; title given to Scipio.

Alba, -ae (f.): Alba Fucens, a town of Central Italy, where Roman state prisoners were often kept.

Alexander, -dri (m.): Alexander the Great.

Alpes, -ium (f.): the Alps.

Anio, -enis (m.): a tributary of the Tiber, by which Hannibal camped when he marched on Rome, 211 B.C.

Attenis, -is (m.): king of the Spanish tribe of Turdetani, who came over to Scipio after Ilipa, 207 B.C.

Baecula, -ae (f.): a Spanish town, the scene of Scipio's victory over Hasdrubal Barca, 208 B.C.

Baliares, -ium (m.): inhabitants of the Balearic Islands.

Bruttius, -a, -um (adj.): Bruttian.

Bruttii, -orum (m.): the inhabitants of the southern point of Italy.

Cannae, -arum (f.): a village of S.E. Italy, famous for Hannibal's great victory, 216 B.C.

Cannensis, -e (adj.): of Cannae. Capitolium, -ii (n.): the Capitol hill at Rome, or the temple of Jupiter on that hill.

Capua, -ae (f.): A rich city of Campania, Hannibal's main base, 216-211 B.C.

Carthaginiensis, -e (adj.): Carthaginian.

Carthago, -inis (f.): Carthage. Carthago Nova (f.): Cartagena, the main Carthaginian base in Spain.

Casilinum, -i (n.): a town of Campania.

Cato, Marcus Porcius: Scipio's quaestor in Sicily, but later his chief opponent.

Celtiberi, -orum (m.): a people of Central Spain used by the Carthaginians as mercenaries.

Coelius, Lucius Coelius Antipater: a Roman historian used by Livy.

Culleo, Quintus Terentius: a Roman captured by the Carthaginians and freed by Scipio.

Cumae, -arum (f.): a city of Campania.

Emporia, -orum (n.): a town on the S. coast of Tunisia.

Fabius, Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator: saved Rome by his delaying tactics after Trasimene, and led the opposition to Scipio's plan to invade Africa.

Flaminius, Caius: Scipio's quaestor in Spain.

Galli, -orum (m.): Gauls. Gades, -ium (f.): Cadiz.

Hadrumetum, -i (n.): the port on the E. coast of Tunisia where Hannibal landed on his return from Italy.

Hannibal, -alis (m.): Hannibal. Hanno, -onis (m.): (a) cavalry commander defeated by Scipio in N. Africa; (b) leader of the peace-party in Carthage.

Hasdrubal, -alis (m.): (a) Hannibal's brother, defeated by Scipio at Baecula; (b) son of Gisgo, defeated at Ilipa (207 B.C.) and the Great Plains (203 B.C.).

Hiberus, -i (m.): the River Ebro, the boundary between Roman and Carthaginian spheres of influence in Spain.

Hispania, -ae (f.): Spain.

Ilipa, -ae (f.): a town in Spain, where Scipio defeated Hasdrubal Gisgo, 207 B.C.
Italia, -ae (f.): Italy.
Italicus, -a, -um: Italian.
Iuno, -onis (f.): the goddess Juno, who had an important temple at Lacinium.

Lacinius, -a, -um: belonging to Lacinium, a town on the S. tip of Italy with a famous temple of Juno.

Laelius, Gaius: Scipio's right-hand man in Spain and Africa.

Ligures, -um (m.): a people of N.W. Italy.

Lilybaeum, -i (n.): a harbour in W. Sicily.

Macedones, -um (m.): Macedonians.

Mago, -onis (m.): commander of the Carthaginian garrison of New Carthage.

Marcius: one of Scipio's officers at Ilipa.

Masinissa: a Numidian prince, allied to Rome.

Mauri, -orum (m.): Moors. Mercurius, -i (m.): Mercury.

Neptunus: god of the sea.

Nola, -ae (f.): a town of Campania.

Numidae, -arum (m.): Numidians, a people of N. Africa. The name means Nomad.

Poenus, -i (m.): a Carthaginian. Polybius: a Greek historian, cf. Introduction III.

Pomponius, Marcus: Praetor in Sicily when Scipio sailed for Africa.

Pulcher, -chri (m.): a cape on N. African coast, Cape Bon.
Punicus, -a, -um: Carthaginian.
Pyrenaeus Mons: the Pyrenees.

Roma, -ae (f.): Rome. Romanus, -a, -um: Roman.

Salaeca, -ae (f.): a town of N. Africa.

Scipio, Lucius, Cornelius: brother of Africanus and on his staff in Spain and Africa.

Scipio, Publius Cornelius: later called Africanus. The central figure of this book.

Scipio, Publius Cornelius: father of Africanus and Lucius, defeated and killed in Spain, 211 B.C.

Sicilia, -ae (f.): Sicily.
Siculus, -a, -um: Sicilian.
Silanus: one of Scipio's officers at Ilipa.

Statorius: a Roman centurion who trained Syphax' army.

Syphax, -acis (m.): King of

Numidia, allied to Carthage.

Tarraco, -onis (f.): Tarragona, a town in Spain.

Tarraconensis, **-e** (adj.): of Tarragona.

Tibur, -uris (n.): Tivoli, a town on the Tiber.

Trasumennus, -i (m.): Lake Trasimene, the scene of one of Hannibal's victories, 217 B.C.

Turdetani, -orum (m.): a Spanish tribe.

Vtica, -ae (f.): a port in the bay of Tunis which Scipio tried to capture.

Zama, -ae (f.): a town in N. Africa, where Scipio defeated Hannibal, 202 B.C.

VOCABULARY

ā, ab (prep. with abl.): by, from.

abeō, -īre, -īvī or iī, -itum (v.i.): to go away.

abrumpo, -ere, -rūpī, -ruptum (v.t.): to break away.

abnuo, -ere, -ui, -uitum (v.t.): to deny.

abstineo, -ere, -ui, -tentum (v.i.): to refrain from.

absum, -esse, āfui (v.i.): to be absent or distant from.

absumō, -ere, -sumpsī, -sumptum (v.t.): to spend, destroy.

abundō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.i. with abl.): to abound in.

ac, atque: and.

accendo, -ere, -di, -sum (v.t.): to set on fire, encourage.

accessus, $-\overline{u}s$ (m.): approach. acciō, $-\overline{i}re$, $-\overline{i}v\overline{i}$, $-\overline{i}tum$ (v.t.): to summon.

accipiō, -ere, -cēpī, -ceptum (v.t.): to receive.

accuso, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to blame.

ācer, -cris, -cre: eager, strong. acīes, -ēī (f.): battle-line, army, battle.

acuō, -ere, -uī, -ūtum (v.t.): to sharpen.

ad (prep. with acc.); to, for the purpose of; (with numbers): about; ad hoe: in addition.

addō, -ere, -didī, -ditum (v.t.): to add.

addūcō, -ere, -duxī, -ductum (v.t.): to lead up to.

adeo (adv.): to such an extent.

adfero, -ferre, -tuli, -lātum(v.t.): to bring.

adficio, -ere, -feci, -fectum (v.t.): to affect.

adfiirmo, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to state, maintain.

adflo, -are, -avi, -atum (v.t.): to breathe on, scorch.

adfulgeo, -ere, -fulsi (v.i.): to shine on.

adgredior, -i, -gressus sum (v.t.): to attack.

adhibeo, -ere, -ui, -itum (v.t.): to apply.

adhortor, $-\bar{a}r\bar{i}$, $-\bar{a}tus$ sum (v.t.): to encourage.

adiciō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectum (v.t.): to throw in, add.

adimō, -ere, -ēmī, -emptum (v.t.): to take away.

adipiscor, $-\overline{i}$, adeptus sum (v.t.): to obtain.

aditus, $-\bar{\mathbf{u}}\mathbf{s}$ (m.): entrance.

adiūvō, -āre, -īūvī, -iūtum (v.t.): to help.

adluō, -ere, -uī (v.i.): to wash against.

admīrātiō, -ōnis (f.): admiration, wonder.

admisceo, -ere, -scui, -xtum (v.t.): to mix with.

admoneo, -ere, -ui, -itum (v.t.): to warn.

admoveo, -ere, -vi, -motum (v.t.): to move up.

adnumero, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to count.

adscendo, -ere, -dī, -sum (v.t.): to climb up.

adscensus, $-\bar{\mathbf{u}}\mathbf{s}$ (m.): climb. adsentātio, -onis (f.): flattery. adsimulō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.i.): to pretend. adspicio, -ere, -spexi-, spectum (v.t.): to look at. adsuētūdō, -inis (f.): perience. adsum, -esse, -adfui (v.i.): to be present, assist. adulescens, -entis (m.): a young adulescentia, -ae (f.): youth. advenio, -ire, -vēnī, -ventum (v.i.): to arrive. -um; facing, adversus. -a, (prep. with acc.): hostile; against. advocō, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to call together. aedes, -is (f.): (sing.) temple; (pl.) house. aedifico, -āre, -āvī, -ātum v.t.): to build. aequālis, -e: equal. aequō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to make equal. aequus, -a, -um: equal, level. aerārium, -iī (n.): treasury. aes, -aeris (n.): bronze. aestīva (castra), -orum (n.): summer quarters. **aestus, -ūs** (m.): tide, heat. aetās, -ātis (f.): age, time. ager, -agrī (m.): field, territory. agilitās, -ātis (f.): manoeuverability. agmen, -inis (n.): column, the marching formation. ago, -ere, -egi, actum (v.t.): to do, drive lead. agrestis, -is (m.): countryman. āiō (pres. ind. only): to say. \overline{a} la, -ae (f.): wing, shoulder. alacritās, -ātis (f.): eagerness. alia (adv.): in another direction.

alibī (adv.): in another place; alibī . . . alibī: in some places . . . in others. alienus, -a, -um: belonging to someone else. aliquando (adv.): at one time. aliquantus, -a, -um (adv. aliquantō): considerable. aliquis, -quid: some, any. aliquot (indecl.): several. alius, -a, -ud: some, other; alii alios nominarent; they proposed each other. alo, -ere, alui (v.t.): to feed, support, bring up. alter, -era, -erum: one, other (of two). altitūdō, -inis (f.): height. altus, -a, -um; high, deep; altum: open sea. ambiō, -īre, -īvī or -iī, -ītum (v.t.): to go around. ambo, -bae, -bo: both. ambustus, -a, -um: half-burnt. āmittō, -ere, -mīsī, -missum (v.t.): to lose. amnis, -is (m.): river. amplector, $-\bar{i}$, -plexus (v.t.) to take hold of. an (conj.): or (in questions). anceps, -itis: on two sides, doubtful. ancora, -ae (f.): anchor. ango, -ere, -xi, -ctum (v.t.): to distress. anguis, -is (m.): snake. angustiae, -arum (f.): a narrow place, pass. animadverto, -ere, -vertī, -ver**sum** (v.t.): to notice. animātus, -a, -um: disposed, minded. animus, $-\bar{i}$ (m.): mind, courage. annus, -i (m.): year.
ante (adv. and prep. with acc:.) before.

antesignānī, -ōrum (m.): skirmishers, front-rank men. aperio, -ire, -ui, -ertum (v.t.): to open, reveal. apparātus, $-\ddot{\mathbf{u}}\mathbf{s}$ (m.): equipment. appāreo, -ēre, -uī, -itum (v.i.): to appear. appendo, -ere, -di, -sum (v.t.): to weigh. applico, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to tie up to, join. apud (prep. with acc.): among. aqua, -ae (f.): water. arceo, -ere, -ui, -ctum (v.t.): to keep off. ardor, - \overline{o} ris (m.): enthusiasm, energy. argenteus, -a, -um: made of silver. argentum, -i (n.): silver. arma, -orum (n.): weapons. armāmentārium, -ii (n.): arsenal. armo, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to arm, equip. ars, artis (f.): art, skill. arx, arcis (f.): citadel. aspernor, $-\bar{a}r\bar{i}$, $-\bar{a}tus$ sum (v.t.): to despise, reject. **asprētum, -ī** (n.): rough ground. attinet ad (with acc.) (impers.): it concerns. attonitus, -a, -um: astounded, struck dumb. attrahō, -ere, -traxī, -tractum (v.t.): to pull towards. attribuo, -ere, -uī, -ūtum (v.t.): to assign. **auctor**, **-oris** (m.): authority, person responsible for something. audācia, -ae (f.): boldness. audax, -ācis: bold. audeo, $-\bar{e}re$, ausus sum (v.t. and

aufero, -ferre, abstuli, ablātum (v.t.): to take away. augeō, -ēre, auxī, auctum (v.t.): to increase. **aura, -ae** (f.): breeze, favour. aureus, -a, -um: golden. auris, -is (f.): ear. aurum, $-\mathbf{i}$ (n.): gold. aut: or; aut . . . aut: either . . . or. autem: but, moreover. auxiliares, -ium (m.): auxiliary troops. auxilium, $-i\bar{i}$ (n.): help, auxiliary troops. **āverto, -ere, -tī, -sum** (v.t.): to turn away. **ballista**, -ae (f.): catapult. barbarus, -a, -um: barbarian, foreign. bellicus, -a, -um: belonging to war. **bellum, -i** (n.): war. **bēlua, -ae** (f.): beast. **bestia, -ae** (f.): beast. **biduum, -i** (n.): a space of two days. bini, -ae, -a: two each, both. bis: twice. bonus, -a, -um (adv. bene): good. C: Gaius. cado, -ere, cecidi, casum (v.i.): to fall, be killed. **caedes, -is** (f.): slaughter. caedo, -ere, cecidi, caesum (v.t.): to cut, kill. calamitās, -ātis (f.): disaster. **cālīgō, -inis** (f.): mist, darkness. calo, -onis (m.): camp-servant, (cook etc.).

audio, -ire, -ivi, -itum (v.t.): to

hear, listen to.

i.) to dare.

campus, -i (m.): plain, cano, -ere, cecini, cantum (v.t.and i.): to sound, foretell. capio, -ere, cepi, captum (v.t.): to take, capture. captivus, -a, -um: captured, a prisoner. captō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to grasp at. caput, -itis (n.): head, life, status. casa, -ae (f.): hut. castellum, $-\bar{i}$ (n.): fort. castra, $-\bar{o}$ rum (n.): camp. cāsus, -ūs (m.): accident, chance. catapulta, -ae (f.): catapult. causa, -ae (f.): cause; causā (preceded by gen.): because of. cēdo, -ere, cessī, cessum (v.i.): to move, yield. celebro, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to make famous. celer, -eris, -ere (adv. celeriter): quick. celsus, -a, -um: lofty. centum: one hundred. centuria, -ae (f.): century. centurio, -āre, -āvī, ātum(v.t.): to arrange in centuries. cerno, -ere, crevi, cretum (v.t.): to see. certamen, -inis (n.): struggle. certātim (adv.): in rivalry. certus, -a, -um: certain, clear. cesso, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t. and i): to cease. ceterum: but. cēterus, -a, -um: the rest. cibaria, -orum (n.): provisions. cibus, $-\bar{i}$ (m.): food. cingo, -ere, -nxi, -nctum (v.t.): to surround. circa (adv. and prep. with acc.): around, about.

circuitus, -ūs (m.): detour. circumdo, -dare, -dedi, -datum (v.t.): to surround, flank. circumdūco, -ere, -duxi, -ductum (v.t.): to lead round. circumeo, -ire, -ivi or -ii, -itum (v.t.): to go round. circumfundo, -ere, -fūdī, -fūsum (v.t.): to pour around. circummitto,-ere,-mīsī,-missum (v.t.): to send round. circumsono, -are (v.i.): to echo around. circumspectō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to look around. circumvehor, -ī, -vectus sum to sail round, ride (v.i.): round. circumvenio, -īre, -vēnī, -ventum (v.t.): to surround. citato gradu: at a brisk pace. cīvis, -is (m.): citizen. **cīvitās, -ātis** (f.): state. **clādes, -is** (f.): disaster. clāmitō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.and i.): to shout repeatedly. clāmor, -ōris (m.): noise, shout, cheer. clārus, -a, -um: famous. classis, -is (f.): fleet. claudo, -ere, -sī, -sum (v.t.): to shut. **coeo**, -ire, -ii, -itum (v.i.): to come together. coepī, -isse (perf. and pluper.) (v.i.): to begin. cogitatio, -onis (f.): thought, consideration. cognātus, $-\bar{i}$ (m.): relation. **cognomen, -inis** (n.): title. $c\bar{o}g\bar{o}$, -ere, $co\bar{e}g\bar{i}$, coactum(v.t.): to compel. cohors, -ortis (f.): cohort. cohortor, $-\bar{a}r\bar{i}$, $-\bar{a}tus$ sum (v.t.): to encourage. collis, -is (m.): hill.

colo, -ere, -ui, cultum (v.t.): to respect. **comitia, -ōrum** (n.): elections. **commeātus, -ūs** (m.): supplies. comminus (adv.): at close quarters. compello, -ere, -puli, -pulsum (v.t.): to drive. comperio, -ire, -peri, -pertum (v.t.): to find, find out. compleo, -ere, -evi, -etum (v.t.): to fill. compono, -ere, -posuī, -positum (v.t.): to put together, form. concēdō, -ere, -cessī, -cessum (v.i.): to withdraw, yield. concilio, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to win over. concinō, -ere, -cinuī (v.t.): to sound. concipio, -ere, -cepī, -ceptum (v.t.): to conceive. concubitus, $-\bar{u}s$ (m.): intercourse. concurro, -ere, -curri, -cursum (v.i.): to charge. concursătio, -onis (f.): dash. concursus, -ūs (m.): collision. condicio, -onis (f.): condition, terms. condūcō, -ere, -xī, -ctum (v.t.): to hire. confertus, -a, -um: massed. confesconfessio, -onis (f.): confestim: immediately. conficio, -ere, -feci, -fectum (v.t.): to finish, finish off. confligo, -ere, -xi, -ctum (v.t.): to come to grips with. confundo, -ere, -fūdī, -fūsum (v.t.): to throw into confusion. congero, -ere, -gessi, -gestum (v.t.): to pile up, collect. congredior, -ī, -gressus sum (v.i.): to meet.

conicio, -ere, -iecī, -iectum (v.t.): to throw. coniectus, $-\ddot{u}s$ (m.): throw. coniungo, -ere, -nxī, -nctum (v.t.): to join, unite. coniunx, -iugis (f.): wife. conligō, -ere, -lēgī, -lectum (v.t.): to collect. **conloquium**, -ii (n.): conversation. conluvio, -onis (f.): dregs. conor, -ari, -atus sum (v.i.): to conquisitio, -onis (f.): collecting, conscription. conscendo, -ere, -ndi, -nsum (v.t.): to mount, embark. consenesco, -ere, -senui (v.i.): to grow old, grow feeble. consero (manūs), -ere, **-sertum** (v.t.): to join battle. consīdō, -ere, -sēdī, -sessum (v.i.): to sit down, encamp. **consilium**, -ii (n.): council, plan, advice. consisto, -ere, -stitī, -stitum (v.i.): to stand, halt, take up a position. conspectus, $-\bar{\mathbf{u}}\mathbf{s}$ (m.): sight. conspicio, -ere, -spexī, -spectum (v.t.): to see. constat (impers.): it is agreed. consterno, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to throw into confusion. constituo, -ere, -ui, -ūtum (v.t.): to draw up, decide. consul, -ulis (m.): consul. consultum, $-\overline{i}$ (n.): resolution, decree. **consulto** (adv.): deliberately. contemplor, -ārī, -ātus sum (v.t.): to consider. **contemptim:** contemptuously. conticesco, -ere, -ticui (v.i.): to become quiet.

contineo, ere, -tinui, -tentum (v.t.): to keep. continuus, -a, -um: adjoining. **contio**, -onis (f.): meeting. contrā; (prep. with acc.) against; (adv.): on the contrary. contrahō, -ere, -traxī, -tractum (v.t.): to draw together, concentrate. convenio, -ire, -veni, -ventum (v.i.): to come together, agree. converto, -ere, -ti, -sum (v.t.): to turn, direct. coorior, -iri, -ortus sum (v.i.): to arise. **copia**, -ae (f.) (sing.) supply; (pl.): forces. coquo, -ere, -xi, -ctum(v.t.): to corn $\ddot{\mathbf{u}}$, $-\ddot{\mathbf{u}}\mathbf{s}$ (n.): horn, wing. corona, -ae (f.): siege-works, crown. corpus, -oris (n.): body. crastinus, -a, -um: belonging to to-morrow. creber, -bra, -brum: frequent. credo, -ere, -didī, -ditum (v.t.): to believe, (with dat.) trust. creo, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to elect, appoint. **crepido**, -inis (f.): cliff. -crēvī, crētum cresco, -ere, (v.i.): to grow. cruentus, -a, -um: bloodstained. **cruor**, **-oris** (m.): blood. **cubiculum**, -i (n.): room. cubile, -is (n.): bed. **cum** (prep. with abl.): with; (conj.) when, since, although; cum . . . tum: both . . . and. cumba, -ae (f.): skiff. cumulo, āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to heap up, crown. cumulus, $-\mathbf{i}$ (m.): heap.

cuntatio, -onis (f.): hesitation, delay. cunctor, $-\bar{a}r\bar{i}$, $-\bar{a}tus$ sum (v.i.): to delay, hesitate. cunctus, -a, -um: every. $c\bar{u}ra$, -ae (f.): care, anxiety. cūria, -ae (f.): senate-house. $\overline{\text{curo}}$, $-\overline{\text{are}}$, $-\overline{\text{avi}}$, $-\overline{\text{atum}}$ (v.t.): to take care, (with gerund) to see cursus, $-\bar{\mathbf{u}}\mathbf{s}$ (m.): course, rush, speed. **dē** (prep. with abl.): about, conde industria: cerning; purpose. dēbellō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.i.): to finish a war. dēcēdo, -ere, -cessī, -cessum (v.i.): to go back, leave, die. decem: ten. dēcernō, -ere, -crēvī, -crētum (v.t.): to decide, decree. decimus, -a, -um: tenth. dēcipiō, -ere, -cēpī, -ceptum (v.t.): to deceive. decurro, -ere, -curri, -cursum (v.i.): to run down, run ashore. **decus, -oris** (n.): honour. $d\bar{e}d\bar{o}$, -ere, -didī, -ditum (v.t.): to surrender. **dēfectio,** -onis (f.): desertion. $d\bar{e}fend\bar{o}$, -ere, -nd \bar{i} , -nsum (v.t.): to defend. **dēfensor**, -**oris** (m.): defender. dēferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātum (v.t.): to carry down. defessus, -a, -um: tired. dēficio, -ere, -fēcī, -fectum (v.i.): to fail, be lacking, revolt. **deformitās**, -atis (f.): disgrace. degredior, $-\bar{i}$, -gressus sum (v.i.): to go down. dēicio, -ere, -iēcī, -iectum (v.t.): to throw down. dein, deinde: then, next. **deinceps** (adv.): in succession.

delabor, -i, -lapsus sum (v.i.): to fall down, deleo, -ere, -evi, -etum (v.t.): to destroy. dēligō, -ere, -lēgī, -lectum (v.t.): to choose. $d\bar{e}l\bar{u}brum, -\bar{i}$ (n.): temple. dēmitto, -ere, -mīsī, -missum (v.t.): to send down. dēmō, -ere, dempsī, demptum (v.t.): to take away. **demum:** at last. dēprecor, -ārī, -ātus sum (v.t.): to pray to avoid. dēscendo, -ere, -dī, -sum (v.i.): to go down. dēserō, -ere, -uī, -sertum (v.t.): to desert. desiderium, -ii (n.): longing. desilio, -ire, -silui, -sultum (v.i.): to leap down. dēspēro, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.i.): to despair. dēstino, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to establish. dēstituo, -ere, -uī, -ūtum (v.t.): to overthrow. dētrahō, -ere, -traxī, -tractum (v.t.): to drag away. deus, -i (m.): god. dexter, -tra, right. -trum: dextrā: on the right. diciō, -onis (f.): power, authority. $d\bar{c}\bar{c}$, -ere, dixī, dictum (v.t.): to $d\bar{i}d\bar{u}c\bar{o}$, -ere, -x \bar{i} , -ctum (v.t.): to lead aside. dies, $-\bar{e}\bar{i}$ (m.): day; in dies: day by day. difficilis, -e: difficult. dignus, -a, -um (with abl.): worthy of. **dīmicātiō**, **-ōnis** (f.): struggle. dīmico, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.i.):

to fight.

pars: a half. dīmittō, -ere, -mīsī, -missum (v.t.): to send away. dīrigo, -ere, -rexī, -rectum (v.t.): to steer. dirimo, -ere, -emi, -emptum (v.t.): to separate. discrepat (impers.): there is disagreement. discrimen, -inis (n.): crisis. discurro, -ere, -curri, -cursum (v.i.): to scatter. discursus, -us (m.): dispersal. discutio, -ere, -cussi, -cussum (v.t.): to disperse. disicio, -ere, -iecī, -iectum (v.t.): to disperse. dispar, -aris (with dat.): unlike. dispono, -ere, -posui, -positum (v.t.): to arrange. dissero, -ere, -uī, -sertum (v.t.and i.): to speak. dissimulo, -are, -avī, -atum (v.t.): to conceal. dissipo, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to spread. **disto, -are** (v.i.): to be distant. distrahō, -ere, -traxī, -tractum (v.t.): to drag aside. diū, diūtius: for a long time, longer. diutinus, -a, -um: long-lasting. divido, -ere, -visi, -visum (v.t.): to divide. **divinitus** (adv.): by the gods, by inspiration. dīvīnus, -a, -um: divine. dīvitiae, -ārum (f.): wealth. $d\bar{o}$, -are, ded \bar{i} , -datum (v.t.): to give. doceo, -ere, -ui, -ctum (v.t.): to teach, explain. **documentum**, $-\bar{i}$ (n.): proof. **domus, -ūs** (f.): house, family. donec: until.

dimidius, -a, -um: half; dimidia

dubius, -a, -um: doubtful. ducenti, -ae, -a: two hundred. $d\bar{u}c\bar{o}$, -ere, $dux\bar{i}$, ductum (v.t.): to lead. dum: while, until, provided that. duo, -ae, -o: two. $d\bar{u}r\bar{o}$, $-\bar{a}re$, $-\bar{a}v\bar{i}$, $-\bar{a}tum$ (v.t.): to harden. dūrus, -a, -um: hard. dux, ducis (m.): general. ē, ex (prep. with abl.): out of, as a result of. ēdīcō, -ere, -xī, -ctum (v.t.): to proclaim; edictum: proclamation. $\bar{e}d\bar{o}$, -ere, -didī, -ditum (v.t.): to give out, inflict. ēdūcō, -ere, -xī, -ctum (v.t.): to lead out. ēducō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to educate. ēfferō, -ferre, extulī, ēlātum (v.t.): to bring out, carry to the grave; se efferre: to exalt oneself; elatus: inspired. effugio, -ere, -fügi (v.i.): to escape. **effugium**, -ii (n.): refuge. effulgeo, -ere, -sī (v.i.): to shine out. effundo, -ere, -fūdī, -fūsum (v.t.): to pour out, rout, scatter; **effuse** (adv.): in disorder. ēgredior, \bar{i} , -gressus sum (v.i.): to go out. egregius, -a, -um: outstanding. ēlābor, $-\bar{i}$, -lapsus sum (v.i.): to slip away. elephantus, -i (m.): elephant. elicio, -ere, -licui, -licitum (v.t.): to entice.

ēlūdo, -ere, -sī, -sum (v.t.): to

mock.

ēmitto, -ere, -mīsī, -missum (v.t.): to send out. ēmolumentum, -i (n.): reward. enim: for. **ēnixe** (adv.): strenuously. $e\bar{o}$, ire, ivi or ii, itum (v.i.): to eō (adv.): to that place. eodem (adv.): to the same place. eques, -itis (m.): cavalryman. (adj.): -tris. -tre equester. cavalry. equitatus, $-\bar{u}s$ (m.): cavalry. equus, -i (m.): horse. ērigō, -ere, -rexī, -rectum (v.t.): to raise, send up. ēripiō, -ere, -ripuī, -reptum (v.t.): to sieze. error, - \bar{o} ris (m.): mistake. ērudiō, -īre, -īvī or iī, -ītum (v.t.): to instruct. et: and, also, even; et . . . et: both . . . and. etiam: also, even. ēvādo, -ere, -sī, -sum (v.i.): to go out, escape, advance, climb, turn out. evehor, -i, -vectus sum (v.i.): to sail out. ēvenio, -īre, -vēnī, -ventum (v.i.): to happen. everto, -ere, -ti, -sum (v.t.): to overthrow. ēvolvō, -ere, -volvī, -volūtum (v.t.): to roll away. exaedifico, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to build. exauctoro, -are, -avi, -atum (v.t.): to discharge, dismiss. excēdō, -ere, -cessī, -cessum (v.i.): to go out, leave, exceed. **excidium, -ii** (n.): destruction. excio, -īre, -īvī or -iī, -itum (v.t.): to arouse. excipio, -ere, -cepi, -ceptum

(v.t.): to meet.

excito, -are, -avi, -atum (v.t.): to arouse. exclūdo, -ere, -sī, -sum (v.t.): to shut out, cut off. excurro, -ere, -curri or -cucurri. -cursum (v.i.): to rush out. excursio, -onis (f.): raid. excūsō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to excuse. **exemplum, -i** (n.): example. exeō, -īre, -īvī or -iī, -itum (v.i.): to go out. exerceo, -ere, -ui, -itum (v.t.): to train. exercitus, $-\bar{\mathbf{u}}\mathbf{s}$ (m.): army. eximius, -a, -um: outstanding, excellent. exitium, -iī (n.): destruction. exitus, $-\bar{\mathbf{u}}\mathbf{s}$ (m.): way out. exorior, $-\overline{i}r\overline{i}$, -ortus sum (v.i.): to spring up, arise. expedio, -īre, -īvī or -iī, -ītum (v.t.): to provide, get ready; expeditus: lightly equipped. expello, -ere, -puli, -pulsum (v.t.): to drive out. experior, $-\overline{i}r\overline{i}$, -pertus sum (v.t.): to test, try; expertus (with abl.): experienced in. explico, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to form. explorator, -oris (m.): scout. expono, -ere, -posui, -positum (v.t.): to put out, disembark. expromo. -ere, -prompsī, **-promptum** (v.t.): to express. expugno, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to take by storm. exsecror, -ārī, -ātus sum (with in and acc.): to curse. exsequor, $-\bar{i}$, $-\sec\bar{u}tus sum (v.t.)$: to carry out, fulfil. exsilium, -ii (n.): exile. exspectătio, -onis (f.): expectation.

exspecto, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to wait for. exsulto, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.i.): to exult. extendo, -ere, -di, -tum (v.t.): to lengthen. **extemplo** (adv.): at once. extrā (adv. and prep. with acc.): outside, beyond. extrahō, -ere, -traxī, -tractum (v.t.): to draw out. extraordinārius, -a, -um: unusual. exuviae, -ārum (f.): spoils. faber, -ri (m.): smith. facilis, -e: easy. facio, -ere, feci, factum (v.t.): to do, make. fallo, -ere, fefelli, falsum (v.t.): to deceive. fāma, -ae (f.): rumour, reputation, story. fames, -is (f.): hunger. familia, -ae (f.): family, household. familiaris, -e: of one's family, one's own. fascēs, -ium (m.): fasces. fastīgium, $-i\bar{i}$ (n.): summit. fātālis, -e: ordained by fate. fateor, $-\bar{e}r\bar{i}$, fassus sum (v.t.): to admit. fatīgō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to weary. fauces, -ium (f.): narrows, defile. faustus, -a, -um: fortunate, of good omen. favor, $-\bar{o}$ ris (m.): favour, support, sympathy. fēlīcitās, -ātis (f.): good fortune. fēlix, -īcis: fortunate, successful. fere: almost. ferme: almost.

fero, ferre, tuli, latum (v.t.): to bring, carry, (of a road) lead; ferunt: men say. ferox, -ōcis: bold, confident. **ferrum**, $-\mathbf{i}$ (n.): iron, sword. fertilis, -e: fertile. fessus, -ā, -um: tired. **festīnātio**, **-onis** (f.): haste. fides, -eī (f.): promise, trust, loyalty, belief. fiducia, -ae (f.): trust, confidence, belief. filius, -iī, (m.): son. **finio**, -ire, -ivi or -ii, -itum (v.t.): to finish. finis, -is (m.): end. fio, fieri, factus sum (v.i.): to happen, become, be done. firmo, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to strengthen. firmus, -a, -um: firm. flamma, -ae (f.): flame. flecto, -ere, -xi, -xum (v.t.): to bend, turn. flexus, $\overline{u}s$ (m.): bend. floreo, -ere, -ui (v.i.): to be in one's prime. fluctuor, $-\bar{a}r\bar{i}$, $-\bar{a}tus$ sum (v.i.): to waver. fluvius, -ii (m.): river. foedus, -a, -um: disgraceful. fores, -um (f.): doors; (adv.): outside. forma, -ae (f.): shape, size. fortis, -e: brave. fortuitus, -a, -um: accidental, uncontrolled. fortuna, -ae (f.): fortune, luck, wealth. forum, -i (n.): forum, market place. fossa, -ae (f.): ditch. frango, -ere, fregi, fractum (v.t.): to break. **fremo,** -ere, -ui, -itum (v.i.): to

groan, mutter.

frendō, -ere, -dui, frensum (v.i): to gnash one's teeth. frēno, -āre, -āvi, -ātum (v.t.): to bridle. **fretum**, $-\mathbf{i}$ (n.): strait. frētus, -a, -um (with abl.): relying on. frons, -ontis (f.): front. frümentum, $-\bar{i}$ (n.): corn, provisions. frustrā: in vain. fuga, -ae (f.): flight. fugax, -ācis: ready to flee. fugio, -ere, fūgī, fugitum (v.i.): to run away. fugō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to put to flight. fulgeo, -ere, fulsi (v.i.): to shine. fundo, -ere, füdi, füsum (v.t.): to pour, rout. **fūnus, -eris** (n.): funeral. gaudium: $-i\bar{i}$ (n.): joy. gemo, -ere, -ui, -itum (v.i.): to groan. gens, -ntis (f.): nation. genü, -üs (n.): knee. genus, -eris (n.): race, kind, birth. gero, -ere, gessi, gestum (v.t.): to carry on. gradus, -ūs (m.): step, pace. grātia, -ae (f.): thanks, goodwill. gravis, -e: heavy, harsh, troublesome. gubernātor, - \bar{o} ris (m.): helmsman, pilot. habeo, -ere, -ui, -itum (v.t.): to have, hold, consider. habito, -are, -avi, -atum (v.i.with abl.): to live in. **habitus**, $-\bar{\mathbf{u}}\mathbf{s}$ (m.): dress, condition.

haereo, -ēre, haesī, haesum

(v.i.): to stick, take hold.

harundo, -inis (f.): reed. **hastātī, -ōrum** (m.): men of the front rank. haud: not. haudquāquam: by no means. hauriō, -īre, hausī, haustum (v.t.): to consume. hebeto, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to blunt. **hībernācula, -ōrum** (n.): winter quarters. hīc, haec, hōc: this, he, she, it. **hic** (adv.): here. hinc (adv.): from here, on this side. hodie: to-day. **homo, -inis** (m.): man. honor, -ōris (m.): honour; honores habeo: to do honour **hōra**, -ae (f.): hour. **hordeum**, -i (n.): barley. horreō, -ēre, -uī (v.t.): to shrink from. **horreum, -i** (n.): granary. hortor, $-\bar{a}r\bar{i}$, $-\bar{a}tus sum (v.t.)$: to encourage. hostīlis, -e: belonging to the enemy. hostis, -is (m.): enemy. hūmānus, -a, -um: human. iacio, -ere, ieci, iactum (v.t.): to throw. iaculor, $-\bar{a}r\bar{i}$, $-\bar{a}tus sum (v.t.)$: to iam: now, already; iam diū; iam pridem: now for a long time. ibi: there. ictus, $-\bar{\mathbf{u}}\mathbf{s}$ (m.): blow; sub ictum: under fire. idem, eadem, idem: the same. **identidem:** repeatedly.

ignāvia, -ae (f.): cowardice. ignis, -is (m.): fire. ignominiosus, -a. -um: graceful. ignoro, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to be ignorant of. ignotus, -a, -um: unknown. ille, -a, -ud: that, he, she, it. illine, from there, on that side. imāgō, -inis (f.): statue. imbellis, -e: unwarlike. imber, -bris (m.): rain. immānis, -e: huge. immensum, $-\mathbf{i}$ (n.): immense immineo, -ere (v.i. with dat.): to threaten. immitto, -ere, -mīsī, -missum (v.t.): to send against. impār, -paris (with dat.): unequal. impedio, -īre, -īvī or -tī, -ītum (v.t.): to hinder. impensa, -ae (f.): expense. imperator, -oris (m.): general. **imperium, -ii** (n.): power, command, order. impero, -are, -avi, -atum (v.i.with dat.): to order. impetro, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to obtain a request. **impetus, -ūs** (m.): attack, speed. impiger, -gra, -grum: vigorous. impingō, -ere, -pēgī, -pactum (v.t.): to thrust upon. impleo, -ēre, -ēvī, -ētum (v.t. with acc. and gen.): to fill with. impono, -ere, -posui, -positum (v.t.): to place upon. (prep. with acc.) in: into, against, for the purpose of; (with abl.): in, on. incautus, -a, -um: careless. incēdō, -ere, -cessī, -cessum (v.i.): to march. incendium, $-i\bar{i}$ (n.): fire.

idoneus, -a, -um: suitable.

igitur: therefore.

incendō, -ere, -dī, -sum (v.t.):
to set on fire.
incertus, -a, -um: uncertain.
incidō, -ere, -cidī, -cāsum (v.i.):

to fall upon.

incipio, -ere, -cepī, -ceptum (v.t.): to begin, undertake.

inclino, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to turn, move.

inclūdō, -ere, -sī, -sum (v.t.): to shut in.

incola, -ae (m.): inhabitant. incolumis, -e: safe.

inconditus, -a, -um: disorderly. incumbō, -ere, -cubuī, -cubitum (v.i.): to press upon.

incurro, -ere, -curri or -cucurri, -cursum (v.i); to charge.

inde: from there, from that time. inducō, -ere, -xī, -ctum (v.t.): to lead into.

industria, -ae (f.): diligence, activity; de industriā: on purpose.

indūtiae, -ārum (f.): truce. ineō, -īre, -īvī or iī, -itum (v.t.): to enter; suffragium ineo: to cast one's vote.

inermis, -e: unarmed.

infectus, -a, -um: unworked, unaccomplished.

infero, -ferre, -tuli, -lātum (v.t.): to carry in; signa infero: to attack.

inferior, infimus: lower, lowest. infirmitās, $-\bar{a}tis$ (f.): weakness. infirmus, -a, -um: weak.

infrā (adv. and prep. with acc.): below, further on.

ingens, -entis: huge.

ingerō, -ere, -gessī, -gestum (v.t.): to throw into.

ingredior, $-\overline{i}$, -gressus sum (v.t.): to enter.

iniciō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectum (v.t.): to throw into.

inīquus, -a, -um: unfavourable initium, -iī (n.): beginning. inlūcescō, -ere, -luxī (v.i.): to grow light.

inlustris, -e: famous.

inmisceo, -ere, -cui, -xtum (v.t.): to mix.

innitor, -i, -nixus or -nisus sum
(v.i. with abl.): to lean on.

inops, -opis: helpless; (with gen.): lacking in.

inquam (defect. vb.): to say.

inrītō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to arouse.

inrumpō, -ere, -rūpī, -ruptum (v.t.): to break into.

inruo, -ere, -ui (v.i.): to rush upon.

insequor, -i, -secutus sum (v.t.): to follow.

insidior, -ārī, -ātus sum (v.i. with dat.): to lie in ambush.

insīdō, -ere, -sēdī, -sessum (v.t.): to occupy.

insignis, -e: conspicuous, famous, decorated; insigne (n.): signal.

insitus, -a, -um: ingrained.
insternō, -ere, -strāvī, -strātum
(v.t.): to saddle.

insto, -āre, -stitī, -stātum (v.i. with dat.): to press upon.

instrümentum, -ī (n.): equipment.

instruō, -ere, -struxī, -structum (v.t.): to draw up.

integer, -gra, -grum: fresh, unharmed; dē integrō: anew. integrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to renew.

intentus, -a, -um: alert, concentrated.

inter (prep. with acc.): among, between, during.

interclūdō, -ere, -sī, -sum (v.t.): to cut off.

interdiü: by day. intereo, -īre, -iī, -itum (v.i.): to perish. interest (impers.): it is important. interficio, -ere, -fēcī, -fectum (v.t.): to kill. interpres, -ētis (m.): interpreter. intervallum, -i (n.): distance, interval. interventus, -ūs (m.): interruption, arrival. intolerabilis, -e: irresistible. intrā (adv. and prep. with acc.): within. intrepidus, -a, -um: unafraid. intro, -are, -avī, -atum (v.t.): to enter. intueor, $-\bar{e}r\bar{i}$, -uitus sum (v.t.): to look at. intus (adv.): within. inūtilis, -e: useless. invādo, -ere, -sī, -sum (v.t.): to attack. invehō, -ere, -vexī, -vectum (v.t.): to carry in, against. invenio, -īre, -vēnī, -ventum (v.t.): to find. **invidia, -ae** (f.): envy. inviolatus, -a, -um: unviolated. ipsa, ipsum: himself, herself, etc. is, ea, id: this, that, he, she, it, etc. ita: in such a way, so. itaque: therefore. item (adv.): likewise. iter, -ineris (n.): journey, route. iterum: again. iubeo, -ēre, iussī, iussum (v.t.): to order. iümentum, -i (n.): baggageanimal. iūs, -iūris (n.): law. iustus, -a, -um: just, proper. iuvenis, -is (m.): young man. iuventa, -ae (f.): youth.

iuvo, -āre, iūvī, iūtum (v.t.): to help. labor, -oris (m.): difficulty hardship. lacesso, -ere, -īvī, -ītum (v.t.): to harass. lacrima, -ae (f.): tear. laetus, -a, -um : glad. laevus, -a, -um: left; laevā: on the left. lātus, -a, -um: wide. latus, -eris (n.): side, flank. laus, -dis (f.): praise. laxo, -are, -avi, -atum (v.t.): 10 open out. lēgātus, $-\bar{i}$ (m.): envoy, officer. legio, -onis (f.): legion. lēnis, -e: gentle. levis, -e: light, trifling; levis armātūra, -ae (f.): lightarmed troops. liber, -era, -erum: free. liberī, -ōrum (m.pl.): children. libertas, -atis (f.): freedom. lībrālis, -e: of a pound weight. ligneus, -a, -um: wooden. linteum, $-\overline{i}$ (n.): sail-cloth. lītus, -oris (n.): shore. loco, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to place. locus, -ī (m.): place, position. longe (adv.): by far. luctus, $-\bar{\mathbf{u}}\mathbf{s}$ (m.): grief. lümen, -inis (n.): light. lux, lūcis (f.): light; prima luce: at dawn. M: Marcus. māchina, -ae (f.): siege-engine. maestus, -a, -um: sad. magister, -trī (m.): ship's captain. magistrātus, -ūs (m.): an officer

of the state (e.g. consul).

magnitūdo, -inis (f.): size.

magnoperē, magis. maximē (adv.): greatly. maior, maximus: magnus, great. mālo, malle, mālui (v.t. and i.): to prefer. mandatum, -i (n.): command. mando, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to entrust. maneo, -ere, mansi, mansum (v.i.): to remain. manipulus, -i (m.): maniple, made up of two centuries. manus, $-\ddot{u}s$ (f.): hand, band of men. mare, -is(n): sea. maritimus, -a, -um: by sea, maritime. mater, -tris (f.): mother. materia, -ae (f.): supplies, ınaterial. mātūrus, -a, -um: ripe, early. mātūtīnus, -a, -um (adj.): in the morning. medius, -a, -um: middle. **memini, -isse** (v.i. with gen.): to remember. memoria, -ae (f.): memory, history. mens, -ntis (f.): mind. mercennarius, -a, -um: mercenary. mercēs, -ēdis (f.): pay, reward. mereo, -ere, -ui, -itum (v.t.): to deserve; bene mereo de: to deserve well of. meridianus, -a, -um: of midday, southern. meridies, -ei (f.): midday. metuo, -ere, -ui, -utum (v.t.): to fear. metus, - $\ddot{\mathbf{u}}$ s (m.): fear. meus, -a, -um: mine. miles, -itis (m.): soldier. mīlitāris, -e: military.

mīlitia. (f.): military -ae service. mīlitō, -āre, -āvī (v.i.): to be a soldier. mille (pl. milia): a thousand. ministerium, $-i\bar{i}$ (n.): service, task. minor, -us, minimus: less, least. mīrābilis, -et remarkable. $mir\bar{a}culum, -\bar{i}$ (n.): marvel. misceo, -ere, -ui, -xtum (v.t.): to mix. missilis, -o: suitable for throwmitto, -ere, mīsī, missum (v.t.): to send. moderor, $-\bar{a}r\bar{i}$, $-\bar{a}tus$ sum (v.t.): to limit, control. modicus, -a, -um: little, moder**modius, -ii** (m.): bushel. (adv.): \mathbf{modo} only, merely, lately. modus, $-\overline{i}$ (m.): way, limit. moenia, -ium (n. pl.): walls. $m\bar{o}l\bar{e}s$, -is (f.): mass, weight. mollis, -e: gentle. moneo, -ere, -ui, -itum (v.t.): to warn, advise. **monumentum**, $-\mathbf{i}$ (n.): memorial. mora, -ae (f.): delay. morior, $-\overline{i}$, mortuus sum (v.i.): to die. moror, -ārī, morātus sum (v.t.and i.): to halt, delay. mors, -rtis (f.): death. mortālis, -e: mortal. mos. moris (m.): custom, routine. moveo, -ere, movi, motum (v.t.): to move. mox: soon. multa, -ae (f.): fine. multitūdō, -inis (f.): large number.

multus, -a, -um: much, many; multo (adv.): much.
mūnīmentum, -ī (n.): fortification.
mūnīo, -īre, -īvī, -ītum (v.t.): to build, fortify.
mūrus, -ī (m.): wall.
mūtō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to change.
mūtuus, -a, -um: mutual.

nascor, $-\mathbf{i}$, \mathbf{n} atus sum (v.i.): to be born. **nauticus, -** \ddot{i} (m.): sailor. **nāvāle**, **-is** (n.): dockyard. nāvālis, -e: nautical. **nāvis, -is** (f.): ship. $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\bar{a}}\mathbf{v}\mathbf{\bar{o}}$, $-\mathbf{\bar{a}}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{e}$, $-\mathbf{\bar{a}}\mathbf{v}\mathbf{\bar{i}}$, $-\mathbf{\bar{a}}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{u}\mathbf{m}$ (v.t.): to strive; operam navo: to do one's best. **nē** (conj.): that not, lest. **nebula, -ae** (f.): cloud, mist. necessarius, -a, -um: necessary. **necesse est:** it is necessary. **necessitās, -ātis** (f.): necessity. neglego, -ere, -lexi, -lectum (v.t.): to neglect, overlook. **nēmo** (irreg.): no one. nēquāquam: not at all. **neque** or **nec:** and not; **neque** . . . neque: neither . . . nor. **nequeo, -ire, -ivi** (v.i.): to be unable. neuter, -tra, -trum: neither. **nihil** (indecl. n.): nothing, not at all. **nimirum:** doubtless, of course. **nisi:** if not, unless. nobilis. -e: noble, high-born. nobilito, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to honour. nocturnus, -a, -um: by night. nölö, nolle, nöluï (v.i.): to be unwilling. **nomen, -inis** (n.): name, status.

to name, propose. non: no, not. nondum: not yet. nonne, introduces a question expecting the answer 'Yes'. nos: we. nosco, -ere, novi, notum (v.t.): to get to know (perf.) to know. \mathbf{novo} , $-\mathbf{\bar{a}re}$, $-\mathbf{\bar{a}vi}$, $-\mathbf{\bar{a}tum}$ (v.t.): to renew. novus, -a, -um: new; novissimus: newest, last. **nox**, **noctis** (f.): night. $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\bar{u}}\mathbf{b}\mathbf{\bar{e}s}$, -is (f.): cloud. $n\bar{u}d\bar{o}$, $-\bar{a}re$, $-\bar{a}v\bar{i}$, $-\bar{a}tum$ (v.t.): to expose, strip, deprive. nūdus, -a, -um: exposed, unprotected. nullus, -a, -um: no, none. numerus, -ī (m.): number. nunc: now. nunquam: never. nuntio, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to announce. nuntius, -ii (m.): messenger news. nuper, lately. nusquam: nowhere.

 $n\bar{o}min\bar{o}$, $-\bar{a}re$, $-\bar{a}v\bar{i}$, $-\bar{a}tum$ (v.t.):

nullus, -a, -um: no, none.
numerus, -ī (m.): number.
nunc: now.
nunquam: never.
nuntiō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.):
to announce.
nuntius, -iī (m.): messenger
news.
nūper, lately.
nusquam: nowhere.

obeō, -īre, -īvī, -itum (v.t.): to
inspect.
obequitō, -āre, -āvī (v.i. with
dat.): to ride up to.
obiciō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectum (v.t.):
to throw against, oppose.
oblīquus, -a, -um: slanting; in
obliquum: sideways.
oblīviscor, -ī, oblitus sum (v.i.
with gen.): to forget.
oboediō, -īre, -īvī, -ītum (v.i.
with dat.): to obey.
obruō, -ere, -uī, -utum (v.t.): to
overwhelm, block.
obsēs, -idis (m.): hostage.

obsideo, -ēre, -sēdī, -sessum (v.t.): to besiege, throng. obsidio, -onis (f.): siege. obsisto, -ere, -stitī (v.i. with dat.): to stand in the way. obstinātē: firmly, stubbornly. obstō, -āre, -stitī (v.i. with dat.): to stand in the way. obstringō, -ere, -nxī, -strictum (v.t.): to bind. obtero, -ere, -trīvī, -trītum (v.t.): to crush. obtineo, -ere, -tinui, -tentum (v.t.): to hold, occupy. obtrectātio, -onis (f.): criticism. obvenio, -ire, -veni, -ventum (v.i. with dat.): to intervene in. obversor, $-\bar{a}r\bar{i}$, $-\bar{a}tus$ sum (v.i.with dat.): to come to mind. obverto, -ere, -verti, -versum (v.t.): to turn to meet. obvius, -a, -um (with dat.): in the way of. occāsiō, -ōnis (f.): opportunity. occāsus, -ūs (m.): falling; solis occasus: sunset. occidio, -onis (f.): destruction, extermination. occido, -ere, -cidi, -cisum (v.t.): to kill. occido, -ere, -cidi, -cāsum (v.i.): to fall. occipio, -ere, -cepi, -ceptum (v.t. and i.): to begin, arise. occulo, -ere, -cului, -cultum (v.t.): to hide. occupo, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to seize. occurro, -ere, -curri, -cursum (v.i. with dat.): to run to meet, charge. octo: eight. octoginta: eighty. oculus, -i (m.): eye, sight. odium, -ii (n.): hatred.

officina, -ae (f.): workshop. offundo, -ere, -fūdī, -fūsum (v.t.): to pour over. **ōmen, -inis** (n.): omen. ominor, -arī, -atus sum (v.t.): to predict. omnis, -e: every, all. oneraria navis: merchant ship. onus, -eris (n.): weight, burden, cargo. opem, opis (f.): (sing.) help, (pl.) wealth, resources. opera, -ae (f.): work, service. opinio, -onis (f.): thought, expectation. oppidānī,-ōrum (m.pl.): townspeople. **oppidum, -i** (n.): town. oppono, -ere, -posui, -positum (v.t.): to place against, station. opportūnus, -a, -um: advantageous. opprimo, -ere, -pressī, -pressum (v.t.): to take by surprise, overwhelm. oppugnātiō, -ōnis (f.): attack. oppugno, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to storm. opulentus, -a, -um: wealthy. opus, -eris (n.): work, siegeworks; **opus est** (with abl.): there is need of. \bar{o} ra, -ae (f.): shore, edge. **ōrāculum**, $-\mathbf{i}$ (n.): oracle. orbis, -is (m.): circle; orbis terrarum: the world. orbo, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to deprive, bereave. ordino, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to organise. ordior, -iri, orsus sum (v.t.): to begin. ordo, -inis (m.): arrangement. rank, formation. orior, -iri, ortus sum (v.i.): to arise. oriens; the east.

ornō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to equip.
ōs, ōris (n.): mouth, face.
os: ossis (n.): bone.
ostendō, -ere, -dī, -sum (v.t.):
to show.
ostentātiō, -ōnis (f.): display.
ostentō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.):
to show.

P: Publius. paenitet, -ēre, -tuit (impers. v. with gen.): to repent, regret. palam: openly. par. paris (with dat.): equal to. parco, -ere, peperci, parsum (v.i. with dat.): to spare. parens, -ntis (m.): parent, relation. pario, -ere, peperi, partum (v.t.): to produce, accomplish. pariter, equally. paro, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to prepare. pars, partis (f.): part, side, direction. partim: partly. parum (with gen.): too little. parumper: for a little while. passim: on all sides. passus, $-\ddot{u}s$ (m.): pace; mille passus: a mile. patefacio, -ere, -fēcī, -factum (v.t.): to open. pateo, -ere, -ui (v.i.): to lie open, extend. pater, -tris (m.): father. patera, -ae (f.): dish. patientia, -ae (f.): suffering. patior, -i, passus sum (v.t.): to suffer, endure. patria, -ae (f.): native land. patruus, -i (m.): uncle. paucus, -a, -um: few. paulatim: gradually.

103 paulisper: for a little while. paulo (adv.): a little. pavidus, -a, -um: frightened. pavor, -oris (m.): fear. pax, pācis (f.): peace. pecūnia, -ae (f.): money. **pedes, -itis** (m.): foot-soldier. pedester, -tris, -tre: on foot, on land. pello, -ere, pepuli, pulsum (v.t.): to drive. penātēs, -ium (m.): household gods. penso, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to weigh. per (prep. with acc.): through, by means of. percello, -ere, -culi, -culsum (v.t.): to dismay. percontor, $-\bar{a}r\bar{i}$, $-\bar{a}tus$ sum (v.t.): perdo, -ere, -didi, -ditum (v.t.): to destroy. perficio, -ere, -feci, -fectum (v.t.): to finish. **perfidia, -ae** (f.): treachery. perfugio, -ere, -fügi (v.i.): to take refuge. perfundo, -ere, -fūdī, -fūsum (v.t.): to drench. pergo, -ere, perrexi, perrectum (v.i.): to proceed. **periculum**, -i (n.): danger. perinde ac: just as. perītus, -a, -um (with gen.): skilled in. permisceo, -ēre, -scui, -xtum (v.t.): to mix thoroughly. permitto, -ere, -mīsī, -missum (v.t.): to allow, entrust. peropportunë: very conveniently. perpetuus, -a, -um: uninterrupted; in perpetuo: for ever.

perplexē: obscurely.

persaepe: very often.

persequor, $-\bar{i}$, $-\sec\bar{u}$ tus sum (v.t.): to follow up, avenge. pertinacia, -ae (f.): determination. pertinax, -ācis: stubborn. pertrahō, -ere, -traxī, -tractum (v.t.): to draw onward. pervagor, $-\bar{a}r\bar{i}$, $-\bar{a}tus$ sum (v.t.): to cross, wander through. pervenio, -ire, -veni, -ventum (v.i.): to reach. pës, pedis (m.): foot. petō, -ere, -īvī, -ītum (v.t.): to seek, make for, stand for an office. pietas, -atis (f.): piety, family loyalty. pilleus, $-\bar{i}$ (m.): the cap of liberty. $p\bar{l}um, -\bar{l}(n.)$: javelin. piscator, $-\bar{o}$ ris (m.): fisherman. placet, -ēre, -uit (impers. v. with dat.): it pleases. plānities, -eī (f.): level ground. plānus, -a, -um: level. plēnus, -a, -um (with gen. or abl.): full. plērīque, pleraeque, pleraque: most. plērumque (adv.): very much, very often. plūs, plūris: more; (adv.) plus, plurimum: more, most. **pondus, -eris** (n.): weight. $p\bar{o}n\bar{o}$, -ere, posuī, positum (v.t.): to place, pitch (camp). popularis, -e: of the people. **populatio,** -onis (f.): plundering. **populus, -i** (m.): people, nation. porta, -ae (f.): gate. porto, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to carry. portus, $-\bar{\mathbf{u}}\mathbf{s}$ (m.): harbour. posco, -ere, poposci (v.t.): to demand.

possessio, -onis (f.): occupapossum, posse, potui (v.i.): to be able. posterus, -a, -um: next, future. post (prep. with acc.): after. behind; (adv.): after. postmodo: afterwards. postquam (conj.): after. postrēmus, -a, -um: last. postrēmum, postrēmo (adv.): at last, finally. potens, -ntis: powerful. potestās, -ātis (f.): opportunity. potior, -iri, -itus sum (v.i. with abl.): to obtain. potissimum potius. (adv.): rather, especially. **prae** (prep. with abl.): in front of, on account of. praebeō, -ēre, -uī, -itum (v.t.): to provide. praeceps, -itis: headlong, steep. **praeceptum, -\bar{i}** (n.): instruction, order. praecipio, -ere, -cepi, -ceptum (v.t.): to instruct, gain. praecipuus, -a, -um: conspicuous; praecipuē (adv.): especially. **praeda**, -ae (f.): plunder, booty. praedamno, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to abandon. praefectus, -i (m.): commander. praegredior, -ī, -gressus sum (v.i.): to go ahead. praemitto, -ere, -mīsī, -missum (v.t.): to send ahead. praemium, -ii (n.): prize. praeparo, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to prepare beforehand. praerumpo, -ere, -rūpī, -ruptum (v.t.): to break off. praesāgiō, -īre, -īvī (v.t.): to foresee.

praesens, -ntis: present. praesidium, ii (n.): protection, garrison. praesto, -are, -stiti, -stitum (v.t.): to provide. praesum, -esse, -fui (v.i. with dat.): to be in charge of. praeter (prep. with acc.): except, beyond. **praetor**, - \bar{o} ris (m.): praetor. **praetorius, -a, -um**: belonging to the general; praetorium: headquarters. prandeo, -ere, -di (v.i.): breakfast, feed. precor, $-\bar{a}r\bar{i}$, $-\bar{a}tus sum (v.t.)$: to pray, beg. premo, -ere, pressi, pressum (v.t.): to force. **pridie**: on the day before. prīmus, -a, -um (adv. primum, primo): first. first, leading; princeps, -ipis: (subst.) a chief. principēs, -um: second rank (cf. Introduction II). **principium**, -iī (n.): beginning. prior, -oris: former, earlier. prius (adv.): before. **priusquam** (conj.): before. prīvātus, a, -um: private. **pro** (prep. with abl.): in front of, on behalf of. procedo, -ere, -cessi, -cessum (v.i.): to advance. **proconsul.** -ulis (m.): proconsul. procul: far. procurro, -ere, -curri, -cursum (v.i.): to charge. prodigium, -ii (n.): monster, portent. proelium, -ii (n.): battle. proficiscor, -ī, profectus sum (v.i.): to set out. profiteor, $-\bar{e}r\bar{i}$, -fessus sum (v.t.): to volunteer.

prohibeo, -ere, -ui, -itum (v.t.): to prevent. **proindē**: accordingly. **promissum**, - \bar{i} (n.): promise. promunturium, -ii (n.): headland. **prope** (adv.): nearly; (prep. with acc.) near. **properē**: hurriedly. propero, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.and i.): to hurry. propior, propius: nearer. propinguus, -a. -um: near, neighbouring. propono, -ere, -posui, -positum to explain. propter (prep. with acc.): on account of. **prorsus** (adv.): certainly. prosilio, -ire, -ui (v.i.): to leap forward. proveho, -ere, -vexī, -vectum (v.t.): to carry forward. provincia, -ae (f.): province, sphere of duty. proximus, -a, -um: nearest, next. prūdentia, -as (f.): good sense, discretion. püber, -eris: grown up. pūblicus. -a. -um: official. puer, $-\overline{i}$ (m.): boy. pugna, -ae (f.): fight. pugno, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.i.): to fight. pulcher, -chra, -chrum: beautiful, splendid. pulso, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to strike, drive away. Q: Quintus. quā: where. quadrāgintā: forty. quadringēnī, -ae, -a: 400 each. quadringenti, -ae, -a: 400.

quaero.-ere.quaesivi.quaesitum (v.t.): to seek, ask. quaestor, $-\bar{\text{oris}}$ (m.): quaestor. quam: as, how, than. quamquam: although. quando: when, since. quantus, -a, -um: (interrog.) how much? (rel.) as many as. quartus, -a, -um: fourth. quattuor: four. quemadmodum: how, as. queo, -ere, -ivi, -itum (v.i.): to be able. queror, -i, questus sum (v.t. and *i.*): to complain, complain of. qui, quae, quod (rel.): which. quia: because. quicumque, quaecumque, quod**cumque** (rel.): whoever, whatquidam, quaedam, quoddam: a certain. quidem: even; ne . . . quidem: not even. quiës, -ētis (f.): rest. quietus, -a, -um: quiet, peaceful. quilibet, quaelibet, quodlibet: anyone at all. quin: on the contrary, but that. quindecim: 15. quingenti, -ae, -a: 500. quinquāgintā: 50. quinque: five. quintus, -a, -um: fifth. quippe: for; quippe qui (with subj.): inasmuch as. quis, quid (interrog.): who? what? quisnam, quaenam, quidnam: who in the world! quisquam, quaequam, quicquam: anyone, anything. quisque. quaeque, quodque: each, every. quisquis, quicquid (rel.): who-

ever, whatever.

quoad: as long as, until. quondam: formerly. quoniam: because. quoque: also. quot: (interrog.) how many? (rel.) as many as. rādix, -īcis (f.): root, base. raptim: hurriedly. rārō (adv.): rarely. rārus, -a, -um: few, scattered, here and there. ratio, -onis (f.): reasoning, plan, way. recens, -ntis: new, fresh. receptāculum, -i (n.): store. receptus, $-\bar{u}s$ (m.): retreat: receptui cano: retreat. recipero, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to win back. recipio, -ere, -cept, -ceptum (v.t.): to take back; recipere: to retreat. rectus, -a, -um: straight. redeo, -ire, -ii, -itum (v.i.): to return. redintegro, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to renew. reditus, $-\bar{\mathbf{u}}\mathbf{s}$ (m.): return. reduco, -ere, -duxi, -ductum (v.t.): to lead back. refero, -ferre, -ttuli, -lātum (v.t.): to bring back, report; **pedem refero**: to retreat. refringo, -ere, -fregi, -fractum (v.t.): to break down. refugio, -ere, -fügi (v.i.): to run away, escape. regiō, -ōnis (f.): district. rēgius, -a, -um: belonging to a king. **regnum**, -i (n.): kingdom. regredior, -i, -gressus sum (v.i.): to return.

quō: where to?

rēgulus, -i (m.): prince, chief**religio, -onis** (f.): awe, religious scruple. relinquo, -ere, -liqui, -lictum (v.t.): to leave. reliquus, -a, -um: remaining, the rest. reluceo, -ere, -xi (v.i.): to shine out. rēmex, -igis (m.): rower. renuntio, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to report back. reor, rērī, ratus sum (v.t.): to think. repente: suddenly. repleo, -ere, -evi, -etum (v.t.): to refill, fill up. reputo, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to think over. rēs, rēi (f.): thing, business, fortunes, achievements; rem: to the point; res gestae: achievements; res publica: state affairs, the state. resīdō, -ere, -sēdī (v.i.): to settle down, abate. resilio, -ire, -ui (v.i.): to leap back. resistō, -ere, -stitī (v.i. with dat.): to resist. respicio, -ere, -spexī, -spectum (v.t.): to look back at, recall. respondeo, -ēre, -dī, -sum (v.i.): to reply. restinguo, -ere, -nxī, -nctum to put out, extin-(v.t.): guish. restituo, -ere, -ui, -utum (v.t.): to restore. retineo, -ere, -ui, -tentum (v.t.): to hold back. retrahō, -ere, -xī, -ctum (v.t.): to pull back.

revertō, -ere, -tī, -sum (v.t.):

to turn back; (intr.) return.

revoco, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to call back. rex, regis (m.): king. ripa, -ae (f.): bank. robor, -oris (n.): strength; robor exercitus: the flower of the army. rostrātus, -a, -um: fitted with a beak or ram; navis rostrata: warship. ruïna, -ae (f.): destruction. ruo, -ere, rui, rutum (v.i.): to rush, fall. rursus (adv.): again. saepe: often. salio, -ire, -ui, saltum (v.i.): to leap. salūs, -ūtis (f.): safety. sanguis, -inis (m.): blood. satis: enough, quite, very; (with gen.) enough of. saucius, -a, -um: injured. saxum, $-\overline{i}$ (n.): stone. scālae, -arum (f.): ladder. scando, -ere (v.t.): to climb. scapha, -ae (f.): small boat. scio, -ire, -ivi, -itum (v.t.): to know. scorpio, -onis (m.): catapult. scūtum, $-\bar{i}$ (n.): shield. sē or sēsē: himself, themselves. sēcrētus, -a, -um: secret. secundus, -a, -um: second, favourable. **secus** (indecl. n.): sex. **secus** (adv.): otherwise. sed: but. sēdecim: sixteen. sēdulō (adv.): on purpose. segnis, -e: sluggish, slow. semel: once. sēmermis, -e: half-armed, badly armed. sēmisomnus, -a, -um: asleep.

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semper: always.
senātus, -\bar{\mathbf{u}}\mathbf{s} (m.): senate.
senex, senis (m.): old man.
sēnī, -ae, -a: six each.
sensim: gradually.
sensus, -us (m.): realisation.
sentio, -ire, -si, -sum (v.t.): to
  perceive, feel, realise.
septentrio, -onis (m.): north
  wind.
septimus, -a, -um: seventh.
septuāgintā: seventy.
sepulcrum, -i (n.): tomb.
sequor, -\bar{i}, secutus sum (v.t.): to
  follow.
sermō, -ōnis (m.): conversation.
serpo, -ere, -psi, -ptum (v.i.): to
  creep, spread.
sērus, -a, -um: late.
servilis, -e: fit for a slave.
servo, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.):
  to save, keep safe.
servus. -\mathbf{i} (m.): slave.
sescenti, -ae, -a: 600.
seu . . . seu: whether . . . or.
sex: six.
sexāgintā: sixty.
sextus, -a, -um: sixth.
sī: if.
sīcut: just as, as if.
sido, -ere, sidi(v.i.): to sit down,
  rest on.
signātus,
           -a. -um:
                           carved,
  worked.
signum, -i (n.): signal, standard.
silentium, -ii (n.): silence.
simul: at the same time; simul
  atque, as soon as.
simulācrum, -ī (n.): pretence.
simulatio, -onis (f.): pretence.
sine (prep. with abl.): without.
singulāris, -e: unique.
singuli, -ae, -a: one each, one
  at a time.
sinister, -tra, -trum: left.
sinus, -ūs (m.): loop.
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sitis, -is (f.): thirst.
situs, -\bar{\mathbf{u}}\mathbf{s} (m.): site.
sīve . . . sīve: whether . . . or.
socer, -eri (m.): father-in-law.
socius, -ii (m.): ally, comrade.
sol, solis (m.): sun.
soleo, -ere, -itus sum (v.i.): to
  be accustomed.
sollicitūdo, -inis (f.): anxiety.
solus, -a, -um: alone; solum
  (adv.): only.
solvō, -ere, solvī, solūtum (v.t.):
  to loose, unmoor.
somnus, -\bar{i} (m.): sleep.
sors, sortis (f.): lot, chance,
  fate.
spargo, -ere, -si, -sum (v.t.): to
  scatter.
spatium, -i\bar{i} (n.): space, distance.
speciës, -\bar{e}\bar{i} (f.): appearance,
  sight, show.
spectāculum, -i (n.):
                             show.
  performance.
spectator, -\bar{\mathbf{o}}ris (m.): spectator.
specto, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.):
  to watch, examine, prove.
speculor, -\bar{a}r\bar{i}, -\bar{a}tus sum (v.t.):
  to spy out, observe.
sperno, -ere, sprēvī, sprētum
  (v.t.): to despise, reject.
spēs, spei (f.): hope, expecta-
spīritus, -ūs (m.): breath, life,
  courage.
sponte (abl. fem. with meā, tuā,
  etc.): of one's own accord.
stabilis, -e: firm, steadfast.
stagnum, -i (n.): pool, lagoon.
statio, -onis (f.):
                         position,
  outpost.
statīva, -\bar{\text{orum}} (n.):
                          standing
  camp.
statuo, -ere, -ui, -utum (v.t.):
  to decide, arrange.
sterno, -ere, stravī, stratum
  (v.t.): to scatter.
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stipendium, -ii (n.): pay, campaign.

stirps, stirpis (f.): race, descendant.

stō, -are, stetī, statum (v.i.): to stand.

storea, -ae (f.): straw.

strages, -is (f.): overthrow, confusion, slaughter.

strepō, -ere, -uī (v.i.): to resound.

sub: (prep. with acc.) up to, towards; (with abl.): under.

subdūcō, -ere, -duxī, -ductum (v.t.): to lead back.

subeo, -ire, -ii, -itum (v.t.): to go under, come up to.

subiciō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectum (v.t.): to suggest, supply, subject.

subitus, -a, -um: sudden; subitō (adv.): suddenly.

subsidiārius, -a, -um: reserve. subsidium, -iī (n.): reserve, reinforcements.

substituē, -ere, -uī, -ūtum (v.t.): to substitute.

subsum, -esse (v.i.): to be under, near.

subtrahō, -ere, -traxī, -tractum (v.t.): to withdraw.

subveniō, -īre, -vēnī, -ventum (v.i. with dat.): to help.

succēdō, -ere, -cessī, -cessum (v.i.): to come up to, take the place of.

successus, $-\bar{u}s$ (m.): success.

succurro, -ere, -curri, -cursum (v.i. with dat.): to help, occur to.

suffrāgium, -iī (n.): vote.

sum, esse, fui: to be.

summitto, -ere, -mīsī, -missum (v.t.): to send up.

summoveo, -ere, -movi, -motum (v.t.): to remove.

summus, -a, -um: highest, topmost, most important.

sūmō, -ere, sumpsī, sumptum (v.t.): to take up.

super (*prep*. with *acc*.): above, in addition to.

superbus, -a, -um: proud.

supercilium, -ii (n.): eyebrow, ridge.

superior, -ius: higher, earlier, superior.

superō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to conquer, surpass, rise above, survive.

superstitio, -onis (f.): superstition.

supersto, -are (v.i.): to stand upon.

suppedito, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to supply.

supplementum, -**i** (n.): increase, reinforcements.

suppleo, -ere, -evi, -etum (v.t.): to fill up.

suprā (adv.): above.

suprēmus, -a, -um: last.

suspiciō, -ere, -spexī, -spectum (v.t.): to suspect.

sustineo, -ere, -ui, -tentum (v.t.): to withstand, support. suus, -a, -um: his own, their

suus, -a, -um: his own, their own.

tabernāculum, -ī (n.): tent.

 $t\bar{a}b\bar{e}s$, -is (f.): corruption.

taceō, -ēre, -uī, -itum (v.i.): to be silent; tacitus, -a, -um: silent, unspoken.

tālis, -e: such.

tam: so, so much; tam...
quam: so much...as.

tamen: but.

tamquam, as if.

tantus, -a, -um: so much, so great; tantum (adv.): only.

tectum, -i (n.): roof, house.

tego, -ere, -x \bar{i} , -ctum (v.t.): to cover, conceal.

tēlum, -ī (n.): missile, spear. rashly, accidentally, temerē: thoughtlessly, without good reason. tempero, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to control; (v.i. with dat.): to refrain from. templum, -i (n.): temple. tempto, -are, -avī, -atum (v.t.): to test, try. tempus, -oris (n.): time; in tempore: at the right time. tendō, -ere, tetendī, tentum (v.t.): to spread out. teneo, -ere, -ui, -ntum (v.t.): to hold. tentorium, -ii (n.): tent. tenus (prep. with abl.): as far as. tergeo, -ere, -si, -sum (v.t.): to tergum, -i (n.): back; terga do: to turn one's back; a tergo: in the rear. terni, -ae, -a: three each. tero, -ere, trivi, tritum (v.t.): to rub; tempus tero: to spend time. terra, -ae (f.): land. terreo, -ere, -ui, -itum (v.t.): to frighten. terribilis, -e: frightening. terror, $-\bar{o}$ ris (m.): panic. tertius, -a, -um: third. testis, -is (m.): witness. texo, -ere, texui, textum (v.t.): to weave, make. timeo, -ere, -ui (v.t. and i.): to fear, be afraid. $t\bar{t}r\bar{o}$, $-\bar{o}nis$ (m.): recruit. titulus, $-\bar{i}$ (m.): inscription. toga, -ae (f.): toga. tollo, -ere, sustuli, sublatum (v.t.): to raise. tormentum, -i (n.): catapult. tot: so many; tot . . . quot: as many . . . as.

the same number. totiens (adv.): so often. totus, -a, -um: whole. trado, -ere, -didi, -ditum (v.t.): to hand over, report. tradūcō, -ere, -duxī, -ductum (v.t.): to lead across, transfer. trahō, -ere, traxī, tractum (v.t.): to drag. trāiciō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectum (v.t.): to take across, cross. (adv.): tranquillo in weather. transcendo, -ere, -di, -sum (v.t.): to climb over. transeo, -ire, -ii, -itum (v.t. and i.): to cross over. transferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātum (v.t.): to carry over, remove. transfugio, -ere, -fūgī (v.t.): to desert. transgredior, -ī, -gressus sum (v.t. and i.): to cross over. transitio, -onis (f.): desertion. transitus, -ūs (m.): crossing. transporto, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to take across. transvehō, -ere, -xī, -ctum (v.t.): to carry across. transversus, -a, -um: crosswise, on the flank. trecēnī, -ae, -a: 300 each. trecentī, -ae, -a: 300. trepidatio, -onis (f.): panic. trepidus, -a, -um: frightened. trēs, tria: three. triāriī, -orum (m.): men of the rear rank. (See Introduction II.)**tribūnus,** $-\mathbf{i}$ (m.): junior officer of a legion. (See Introduction II.) tricensimus, -a, -um: thirtieth. trīgintā: thirty. tristis, -e: sad, gloomy.

totidem (indecl.): just as many,

hilliann, A (n.): wheat. tenumpho, -kee, -kvl., -ktum (v.i.); to hold a triumph. triumphum, -I (n.); triumph. table, -se (f.): trumpet. tueor, -eri, tuitus mm (v.t.): 10 100000000 bum: then. tumultuaring, 4., -um: hastily #2000C tumultuosus, -2, -um: confused. tumultus, -tis (m.): confusion, turnilus, -1 (m.): kill. time: then. turma, -se (f.): squadron. turia, -se (f.): crowd, man. tarko, -ire, -ini, -itam (v.t.): to throw into confusion. tition, -ini, -itus sum (s.t.): 30 guard. titus, 4., -unc. sale. tune, -2, -um: your.

ther, enc rich, tertile. which where, when ultique: everywhere. ulius, -s., -um: auy. ultering, ing further. ultra (od.); farther, kneer. probiliens. A min the tavel, WYSUSS. unité, -inis (m. : ioss. under årsm where. undersing the second undique: from all sides. immersus, a, ame all regetter. inna, -a, -nn: one; ad mum omner: with the accord. uris, urius (f./2 cary. mesen, -ere, men all is to press WOOL WITE usages and or in fwith acc. /: right up to, mto.

fusus, -fus (m.): use, experience tusti esse: to be useful. ut, uti (with subj.); in order that, so that; (with indic.) as, how, when. ut qui (with subj.): seeing that uter, utra, utrum; which of two: uterque, utraque, utrumque: each of two, both. **fitor, -1, tisus sum** (v.i. with abl.): to use. utrimque: from both sides. utrum . . . sm; whether . . . or. **V20008, -2, -000**: empty. vadrum, -1 (n.): shallow, ford. vague, -a, -um: wandering. valeo, -ēre, -ul, -itum (v.i.): to be strong, well, important. ralidus, -a, -um: strong. vallis, -is (f.): valley. vallum, -I (n.): rampart. varius, -a, -um: differing. vās, vāsis (pL), vāsa, -ōrum (n.): bowl, dish. wates, -is (m.): prophet. -WE: Or. vehemens, -entis: herce, strong; webennenter (adv.): vigorously. veites, -um (m.): skirmishers (see Introduction II). velocitas, -atis (f.): quickness. velum, -I (n.): sail; vela do: 10 Met will. weight as if. venia, -ae (f.): pardon. venio, -ire, veni, ventum (2.3.): 10 0000c. ventus, 4 (m.): wind. verbum, -I (n.): word, talk. versemniia, -ae (f.): modesty. respect. vero: but. verto, -ere, -td., -som (a.t.): to turn. wermm, -1 (n.): truth.

vērus, -a, -um: true. vesper, -eris or eri (m.): evening; **vesperi:** in the evening. vester, -tra, -trum: your. vestīgium, -iī (n.): footprint, veterānus, -i (m.): veteran. veto, -are, -ui, -itum (v.t.): to forbid. vetus, -eris: old. via, -ae (f.): road. vicārius, -a, -um: substitute. vicem, vicis (f.): change; in vicem: in turn. victor, $-\bar{o}$ ris (m.): conqueror. victoria, -ae (f.): victory. video, -ere, vidi, visum (v.t.): to see; (pass.) to seem. **vigil**, -ilis (m.): sentry. vigilia, -ae (f.): wakefulness, watch, sentries. viginti: twenty. vinco, -ere, vici, victum (v.t.): to conquer. vinum: -i (n.): wine.violenter (adv.): impetuously, violently. violo, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (vt..): to violate, harm.

vir, viri (m.): man. virīlis, -e: manly, male. virtūs, -ūtis (f.): courage: virtue, ability. vīs, vim, vī (pl.), vīres (f.): force, strength, amount. vīta, -ae (f.): life. vītō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to avoid. **vix, vixdum:** scarcely. vocō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to call. volgō, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to make public. volnero, -āre, -āvī, -ātum (v.t.): to wound. volnus, -eris (n.): wound. volo, -are, -avi, -atum (v.i.): to fly, to move swiftly. volo, velle, volui (v.t. and i.): to wish, be willing, want. voltus, $-\bar{u}s$ (m.): face, expression. volucris, -is (f.): bird. voluntārius, -a, -um: volunteer. voluntās, -ātis (f.): will, inclination. vos: you. **vox, vocis** (f.): voice, sound.





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